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# HISTORY OF THE GREAT REBELLION,

FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO ITS CLOSE, GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGIN, THE

SECESSION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

AND THE FORMATION OF THE

CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT,

THE CONCENTRATION OF THE MILITARY AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT,

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS VAST POWER, THE RAISING, ORGANIZING, AND EQUIPPING OF  
THE CONTENTING ARMIES AND NAVIES; LUCID, VIVID AND ACCURATE DESCRIPTIONS  
OF BATTLES AND BOMBARDMENTS, SIEGES AND SURRENDER OF FORTS, CAPTURED  
BATTERIES, ETC., ETC.; THE IMMENSE FINANCIAL RESOURCES AND COM-  
PREHENSIVE MEASURES OF THE GOVERNMENT, THE ENTHUSIASM  
AND PATRIOTIC CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PEOPLE, TOGETHER  
WITH SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF ALL THE EMINENT  
STATESMEN AND MILITARY AND NAVAL  
COMMANDERS.

From Official Sources.

By THOMAS P. KETTELL,

LATE EDITOR OF "HUNT'S MERCHANTS' MAGAZINE," EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR OF THE "CENTURY,"  
"ARMY AND NAVY CHRONICLE," THE "BANKERS' CIRCULAR," NEW YORK CORRESPONDENT  
OF A WASHINGTON JOURNAL, &C., &C.

EMBELLISHED WITH OVER 125 ENGRAVINGS, INCLUDING 80 PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT  
STATESMEN, MILITARY AND NAVAL OFFICERS, ON STEEL, IN CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHY,  
AND ON WOOD, ILLUSTRATING THE VARIED AND EXCITING SCENES OF  
THE WAR, WITH NUMEROUS MAPS, GIVING THE LOCATION  
OF ALL IMPORTANT MILITARY PLACES.

TWO VOLS.—VOL. I.

(FURNISHED TO SUBSCRIBERS ONLY).,

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G. A. ALVORD, STEREOTYPES AND PRINTER.

## PREFACE.

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THE attempt to write cotemporary history is undoubtedly one of the most difficult undertakings that can fall to the lot of an author, more especially when, as now, the popular mind is terribly excited by the dangers of the country and the immense efforts that are made to save the Constitution and the Union. Under these circumstances the task of tracing causes to effects, and of philosophising upon the measures and policy of parties and administrations is sufficiently arduous. The author has, however, sought diligently to present the principles involved in the controversy, with the leading arguments presented on both sides, with clearness and truth. To this end he has confined himself within the scope of documentary evidence, and given the views of the leading opponents as they were expressed officially, as far as the limits of the proposed work will admit, and these would not admit of tracing the present position of the leaders to remote causes operating in past years. The events of the past eighteen months since actual hostilities began, have been so various, on so large a scale, and have succeeded each other with such rapidity, that very large volumes would be required to record in detail all the local movements that have attended each development of the national power. But the utmost care has been exercised to bring before the reader the grand panorama of the military conflicts in which the troops of the nation have been engaged, in clear and consecutive order. It is quite possible, and perhaps probable, that in recording events, which involved the formation of the confederation, the division and adoption of the means forced upon the nation by its changed circumstances, the projection and execution of its financial policy on a scale commensurate with the greatness of the exigency, and the enrolment in twenty states, of 700,000 Union troops, who fought 160 battles and skirmishes in the first year of the war, took numberless cities and conquered large territories, some inaccuracies may have crept in, and for these we must crave the indulgence of the reader. The names of the heroes engaged in the conflicts are taken in most cases from the official reports of the officers commanding, and the details of operations are derived from similar sources, the object being to make as accurate and connected a narrative as the multifarious movements will permit. The result is a most surprising develop-

ment of military power and financial resource. These have been such as to excite amazement among the powers of Europe. The energy of the people, and the devotion with which they offer up life and treasure upon the altar of the country, afford a spectacle new in the world's history. The vast increase of the navy will attract the attention of the reader as it has that of the great national rival upon the ocean.

The events of the war have involved the country in new relations with foreign powers, and have severely tested those principles of international intercourse which have been traditional since the formation of the government. The complex negotiations which have been consequently necessary with the leading powers of Europe, have been brought within as small a compass as would permit of perspicuity, and at the same time clearly define the position assumed by the government. The main arguments on both sides have, without comment, been drawn from official documents, and will be found clearly to define the attitude of the government in regard to the nations of Europe. The great questions of neutral rights, privateers, and blockade, now stand upon a firmer basis than ever before, since they have received the first practical application since the convention of Paris. The enormous power exhibited by this government in its struggle with intestine enemies, has not been without its salutary influence upon the course of events abroad, and has given effect to its decisions.

He has in the course of the narrative endeavored to avoid all approach to old party views and discussions, in order not to lower the dignity of history to the level of party misrepresentation or partisan malignity. It is enough that all parties at the North unite in the vigorous prosecution of the war for the paramount object of preserving the constitution and the Union.

The first volume, now presented to the reader, comes down nearly to the close of the first year of the war. The second, in course of preparation, will be more elaborately prepared, and recount, with careful accuracy, those events which have swollen in magnitude and interest as the importance of the struggle has been developed.

In the course of the preparation of this work we have been indebted, among other sources, to the "Annual Cyclopaedia," published by Messrs. Appleton & Co., and to the "Rebellion Record," published by Messrs. Putnam & Co.



# CONTENTS.

---

## CHAPTER I.

PAGE 33 to 41.

Failure of Southern Schemes.—Secession determined upon.—Knights of the Golden Circle.—Treachery of Cabinet Officers.—Division of the Democratic Party by Southern Intrigue.—Election of Mr. Lincoln.—The John Brown Raid.—“The Impending Crisis” and the “Compendium.”—Excitement in Congress.—Movements for Secession in the Cotton States.—Resignation of Howell Cobb and John B. Floyd

## CHAPTER II.

PAGE 42 to 64.

Preparations for Secession.—South Carolina Convention.—Ordinance of Secession.—Effect of its Passage in Charleston.—Declaration of Causes.—Withdrawal of South Carolina Members from Washington.—Resolutions for Convention of Seceded States.—A Houseless People.—Alabama and Mississippi Delegates at Washington.—Mississippi Convention.—Passage of Ordinance.—Alabama Convention.—Ordinance.—Display in Mobile.—Florida Ordinance.—Seizure of Forts.—Death to hold office under the Federal Government.—Georgia's Resolutions in response to New York.—Ordinance of Secession.—Louisiana Convention.—Ordinance passed.—A Gold Pen for each Signer.—Texas Convention.—Ordinance.—Vote of the People.—General Houston.—Border States for the Union.—Virginia Resolutions.—Peace Convention opposed to Coercion.—Adverse effect of the Call for Troops.—Ordinance of Secession.—Convention with the Confederacy.—Arkansas.—Secession defeated.—On the Call of the President, Secession passed unanimously.—North Carolina Ordinance passed.—Tennessee Act of Independence.—Military League.—Kentucky neutral.—Ma-

ryland Resolutions.—Fourth of February.—Confederate Congress.—Delegates.—Constitution.—Jefferson Davis, President.—Address.—Enactments of the Congress.

### CHAPTER III.

PAGE 65 to 105.

Meeting of Congress.—President's Message.—His Suggestions.—Resignation of Howell Cobb.—Mr. Thomas appointed.—Resignation of Lewis Cass.—Mr. Black appointed.—Mr. Stanton, Attorney-General.—John B. Floyd resigned.—Mr. Hall, *ad interim*.—Horatio King, Postmaster-General.—Star of the West.—Resignation of Mr. Thomas.—Resignation of Mr. Thompson.—John A. Dix, Secretary of the Treasury.—Rumors of Defalcations.—Special Message of the President.—New York Resolution.—Massachusetts.—Committee of Thirty-three.—Crittenden Resolutions.—Border States Plan.—Popular Meetings.—Memorials for Compromise.—Delegations.—Virginia Resolutions.—Peace Convention.—Plan of.—Personal Liberty Bills.—Force Bill.—Close of Congress.—Laws passed.—New Territories.—Finance.—Tariff.—Constitution.—Amendment.—Vote.—Adjournment.—Public Attention fixed on New Administration.— $\frac{1}{4}$  Mr. Lincoln leaves Home.—Route.—Speeches.—Progress.—Rumors.—Change of Plan.—Arrival at Washington.—Cabinet.—Inaugural; its Effects.—Senate.—Spring Elections.—Decision of the Administration.—Southern Commissioners.—Supplies to Fort Sumter.—Commissioners leave Washington.—Virginia Commissioners also leave.—Military Expenditure.—Policy of the Government.—Strength of the Army.—Preparations.—Seizures by the South.—Charleston Harbor.—Major Anderson occupies Sumter.—Commotion in Charleston.—Resignation of Floyd.—Frigate Brooklyn.—Star of the West.—Events at the South.—General Twiggs.—Beauregard in Charleston.—Expedition for Charleston.—Garrison of Sumter.—Enemy's batteries.—The Attack.—The Bombardment.—Valor of the men.—Negotiation.—Surrender.—Soldiers in the Capital.—Oath of Allegiance.—The Progress of the Fleet.—Fort Pickens, reinforced.

### CHAPTER IV.

PAGE 106 to 122.

Effect of the Fall of Sumter.—Call for 75,000 Troops.—Congress convened.—Replies of States to the Call.—Confederacy makes a call for Troops.—Privateers.—Blockade.—Seizure of Harper's Ferry.—Gosport Navy-Yard

—Destruction of Property.—Star of the West captured.—Missouri Arsenal.—Effect of the Proclamation at the North.—New York Troops.—Massachusetts.—Want of Arms.—Agents sent to Europe.—Baltimore Riot.—Massachusetts Sixth.—Effect at the North.—“Through Baltimore.”—General Scott.—Defence of Washington.—New Military Department.—New York Interests.—Departure of the Seventh.—Its arrival in Philadelphia.—Arrival at Annapolis.—Massachusetts Eighth.—March to Washington.—The Position of Maryland.—Maryland Legislature.—General Butler in Command.—Protest of the Governor.—Reply.—Legislative Committee wait on the President.

## CHAPTER V.

PAGE 123 to 136.

Confederate Congress.—Davis's Message.—Resources of the Confederacy.—Arms and Forts made over by States.—Laws of Congress.—Troops.—Virginia.—General R. Lee.—Invasion of Virginia.—General Beauregard.—Proclamation.—North Carolina Proclamation.—Vote of Tennessee.—Border States Convention.—Adjournment of Confederate Congress.—Post-Office.—Western Virginia.—Convention.—State Reorganization.—Recognized by the President.

## CHAPTER VI.

PAGE 137 to 146.

Troops concentrated at Washington.—Aspect of the War.—Troops Mustered.—Arrived in Washington in April and May.—Difficulty of Arming.—Popular Impatience.—Arms bought in Europe.—Necessity of Forward Movement.—Occupation of Alexandria.—Ellsworth's Zouaves.—Arlington Heights.—Death of Ellsworth.—General in Command.—Proclamation.—Operations in Virginia.—Aquia Creek.—General McDowell supersedes General Sandford.—Force of the Troops South of the Potomac.—General Mansfield's Force in Washington.—Vienna.

## CHAPTER VII.

PAGE 147 to 179.

Occupation of Fort Monroe.—Skirmish.—“Contrabands.”—Force at Big Bethel.—Mathias Point.—Death of Ward.—Proclamation for Volunteers.

—Increase of Army.—Army Organization.—Numbers mustered.—Arrival in Washington.—Want of Arms.—Armories.—Strength of Army, July 1st.—Mansfield's Force.—McDowell's.—Patterson's.—Beauregard's.—Position of Armies.—Routes into Virginia.—Urgency of an Advance.—The Grand Army.—The Advance.—Bunker Hill.—Advance to Centreville.—Disposition of the Enemy.—Plan of McDowell.—Plan of Beauregard.—Blackburn's Ford.—Arrival at Headquarters.—Order of Battle.—Advance of the Troops.—Bull Run.—The Retreat.

## CHAPTER VIII.

PAGE 180 to 202.

Missouri's Response to Call for Troops.—Capture of Troops under Frost.—Slaughter of People of St. Louis.—Arming the State.—General Harney.—Truce.—Call for 50,000 Men to repel Invasion.—Strength of Army.—Jefferson captured.—Booneville.—Carthage.—Sigel's Retreat.—General Fremont.—Annapolis, General Banks in command.—Arrest of Police.—Number of Troops.—General Dix.—Shenandoah.—Concentration of Troops.—Number.—Patterson's Proclamation.—Crosses the Potomac.—Black River.—Reinforcements.—Bunker Hill.—Falling Back.—Order of Relief.—Western Virginia.—General McClellan.—Troops Mustered.—Philippi.—Kelly wounded.—Romney.—Laurel Hill.—Rich Mountain.—Beverley.—St. George.—Western Virginia cleared of Confederates.—McClellan transferred to the Potomac.

## CHAPTER IX.

PAGE 203 to 216.

The Mutual Disrespect North and South.—The Effect of the Battle of Bull Run.—It stimulates Enlistments at the North.—Confederate Congress.—President Davis.—Vice-President Stephens.—Mr. Davis' Message.—Secret Sessions.—Paris Conference.—Privateering.—United States Proposition.—Mr. Seward's Assent rejected.—Affairs in Missouri.—Jackson's Proclamation.—Governorship declared Vacant.—Missouri admitted to the Confederacy.—Commissioners to Europe.—Alien Law.—Sequestration Law.—Increase of Military Force.—Southern Armies.—New Generals.—Beauregard promoted.—Confederate Finances.

## CHAPTER X.

PAGE 217 to 241.

Congress assembled.—Representation.—Message.—Its Reception.—Constitutional Powers.—War Report.—Number of Troops.—Navy Report.—Number of Vessels and Guns.—Treasury Report.—Estimates for Year.—Loans demanded.—Bills in Congress.—National Guard.—The Action of Congress.—Prompt Votes.—Senators Expelled.—Adjournment of Congress.—Acts passed.—Confiscation.—War Policy.—Prompt Enlistments.—Financial Difficulties.—Operations of the Treasury.—Bank Loan.—Loan Negotiation.—The Different Loans authorized.—Stocks not Available.—Appeal to the People.—Popular Loan.—Demand Notes.—Tax Bill.—Difficulties of the Government.—Necessity of Stretching Power.—Habeas Corpus.—Attorney General's Opinion.—Judge Betts.—Judge Nelson.—The Press.—Action of the Mobs.—Action of the Government.—Grand Juries.—Newspapers Suppressed.—Passports.—Confiscation.

## CHAPTER XI.

PAGE 242 to 291.

Modern Art of War.—Early Struggles.—Military Art in Disuse.—Isolation of the United States.—Great Wars of Europe.—New Principles.—Wars in Italy.—“Strategy.”—“Tactics.”—“Long Chances.”—Marengo.—Maxims.—Voltigeurs.—Ratisbon.—Jomini.—United States.—Necessity of a Foreign Policy.—The Number in the Army.—Formation of Soldiers.—Education of Officers.—Necessity of Experience.—Scientific Aspect of the Present War.—Enemy in the Centre.—His Policy.—The Northern Position.—The Cause of Disasters.—Military Effects.—The Lesson taught.—Losses Entailed.—The Advantages of Adversity.—Patience Necessary.—Condition of the Army.—McClellan's Order.—Restoration of Discipline.—General Lane.—New Troops.—Drill.—Headquarters.—Army Organization.—Pay of Volunteers.—Enlistments.—Power of the President.—Position of Troops.—Nature of Ground.—System of Defence.—Humiliation.—Inactivity of the Enemy.—Loss of Prestige.—Beauregard.—Means of Transport.—Position of the Enemy.—His Projects.—Observance of the Sabbath.—Skirmish at Lewinsville.—Hatteras occupied.—General Fremont in Missouri.—General Pope.—Cairo.—General Lyon.—Confederate Troops.—Advance of the Enemy.—Battle of Dug Springs.—General Lyon's Force retires.—Position of Lyon.—Frequent Demands for



Aid.—None sent.—Battle of Wilson's Creek.—Death of Lyon.—Retreat of the Army under Sigel.—Springfield occupied by the Confederates.—Proclamation of McCulloch.—General Pope's Proclamation.—Effects of the Defeat.—Military Position.—Sigel's Force at Rolla.—Martial Law.—St. Louis.—Price's Proclamation.—Garnett's Proclamation.—Position of Forces.—Guerillas.—Battle of Charleston.—Colonel Blair's Charges.—Fremont's Proclamation.—Manumission.—President Lincoln modifies it.—Forces of Fremont.—Lexington.—Colonel Mulligan.—Advance of Price.—Attack.—Surrender.—Enemy's Report.—Fremont's Dispatch.—Arrest of *Evening News*.—General Pope.—Martin Green.—Advance of General Fremont.—Troops concentrate.—Retreat of Price.—Major Zagonyi.—Springfield Occupied.—General Wyman.—Jeff. Thompson.—Proclamation.—Big River Bridge.—Fredericktown.

## CHAPTER XII.

PAGE 292 to 328.

Kentucky Neutral.—Address to the People.—Ex-Governor Morehead.—Vote of the State.—Nashville Railroad.—Seizure of Trains.—Its Effect.—Federal Troops.—President Lincoln.—Meeting of Legislature.—Jefferson Davis.—Composition of Legislature.—Message of Governor.—Confederate Troops.—General Polk.—General Grant.—Tennessee Commissioners.—Emancipation Proclamation.—Resolutions in the Legislature.—General Anderson.—Kentucky for the Union.—Governor's Proclamation.—General Anderson's Proclamation.—General Crittenden.—J. C. Breckinridge.—Defence of the State.—Zollicoffer.—General Buckner.—Barbourville.—General Schoepf.—Wildcat.—Troops under Schoepf.—Bowling Green.—Buckner's Proclamation.—Anderson resigned.—General Sumner.—General Buell appointed.—Breckinridge's Proclamation.—His Command.—General Nelson.—Prestonburg.—Piketon.—Munfordsville.—Illinois troops.—Cairo.—Bird's Point.—New Madrid.—Columbus, its Position and Strength.—Paducah, its Strength and Importance.—Number of Confederates.—Union Troops.—The Kentucky Troops.—Battles in Kentucky.—Mill Spring.—Defeat and Death of Zollicoffer.—Prestonburg.—Defeat of H. Marshall.—Position of Forces.—The Tennessee River.—The Cumberland.—Gunboats.—Their Construction.—Commodore A. H. Foote.—Expedition.—Army.—Departure for Fort Henry.—Its Capture.—Bowling Green.—Evacuated.—Fort Donelson.—Attack.—Surrender.—Escape of Pillow and Floyd.—Position of the Enemy.—Fall of Clarksville.—Nashville taken.—Columbus evacuated.—Sixty Days of the New Year.—Missouri.—General Halleck.

## CHAPTER XIII.

PAGE 329 to 347

Affairs in Western Virginia.—General Rosecrans.—Oppression by General Wise.—Population of Western Virginia.—The Confederate Troops.—Gauley Bridge.—Kanawha Expedition.—Rosecrans's Command.—Proclamation.—General Lee.—Elk Water.—Cheat Mountain.—General Reynolds.—His Command.—Carnifex Ferry.—The Battle.—General Benham.—Retreat of the Enemy.—Dogwood Gap.—Big Sewell.—General Floyd.—General Reynolds.—Green River.—Enemy's loss.—Chapmansville.—Gauley Bridge.—Guyandotte.—Romney.—Camp Alleghany.

## CHAPTER XIV.

PAGE 348 to 367.

Navy.—Commercial Marine.—Steam Power.—Strength of the Navy.—Arrival Home of Ships.—Blockade.—Mobile.—Officers resigned.—Increase of Ships.—Purchases.—Captures by the Navy.—Gunboats.—Sloops.—Description of the Unadilla.—Right of Blockade.—Convention of Paris.—International Law.—Propositions of the American Government.—Queen's Proclamation.—The British Minister.—France.—Privateers.—Confederate Laws.—Sensation at the North.—Number of Privateers.—Depredations.—Notice of the English Government.—French Notice.—Spain.—Havana.—The Sumter.—The Nashville.—Harvey Birch.—Trial of Privateers.—Jefferson Davis' Letter.—Laws of Piracy.—Conviction of Smith.—Crew of the Savannah.—Judge Nelson.—Retaliation of the Confederates.—Northern Privateers.—Privateering in the House of Lords.—Exchange of Prisoners.—Bull Run.—General Pillow.—General Polk.—Fremont's Treaty.

## CHAPTER XV.

PAGE 368 to 395.

Improved Efficiency of the Navy.—Expeditions.—Hatteras.—Ocracoke Inlet.—The Fanny.—Chicamacomico.—Port Royal.—Commodore Dupont.—Expedition organized.—General Sherman.—The Force.—The Fleet.—The Storm.—Confederate Fortifications.—Line of Battle.—The Assault.—The Wabash.—The Enemy.—The Victory.—Troops Landed.—Proclamation.—The Blacks employed.—Cotton picked.—Stone Fleet.—Ship Island.—Its

Position.—Defences.—Fort Twiggs.—The Expedition.—General Butler.—The Troops.—General Phelps.—His Proclamation.—More Troops.—Burnside's Expedition.—Fort Pickens.—Galveston.—Combat on the Mississippi.—Effectiveness of the Blockade.

## CHAPTER XVI.

PAGE 396 to 407.

Army of the Potomac.—Volunteers.—Militia Law.—Three Months Men.—The Enemy's Outposts.—Union Advance.—Lewinsville.—Skirmish.—General Order No. 19.—Bolivar Heights.—Ball's Bluff.—Death of Baker.—Retreat.—*Habeas Corpus* in the District.—General Scott retires.—McClellan in Command.—His Speech.—Reorganization of the Confederate Army.—Dranesville.—Battles in Virginia in 1861.—Programme of Movement.—President's Proclamation.—General Operations of the War.

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

---

NO.		PAGE.
2.	BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER	
3.	MAP OF SOUTH CAROLINA . . . . .	101
4.	ZOUAVES LEAVING FOR THE WAR . . . . .	115
5.	MAP OF VIRGINIA . . . . .	121
6.	EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT OF GENERAL SCOTT . . . . .	131
7.	DEATH OF ELLSWORTH. . . . .	141
8.	CONTRABANDS . . . . .	148
9.	BATTLE OF BULL RUN. . . . .	175
10.	MAP OF MISSOURI . . . . .	183
11.	PORTRAIT OF GEN. BANKS . . . . .	201
12.	do. GEN. McDOWELL . . . . .	201
13.	do. GEN. McCLELLAN . . . . .	201
14.	do. GEN. BUTLER . . . . .	201
15.	do. GEN. WOOL . . . . .	201
16.	do. GEN. BURNSIDE . . . . .	201
17.	do. GEN. HALLECK . . . . .	201
18.	do. GEN. SHERMAN . . . . .	201
19.	do. GEN. BUELL . . . . .	201
20.	do. GEN. GRANT . . . . .	201
21.	do. GEN. FREMONT . . . . .	201
22.	do. GEN. ROSECRANS . . . . .	201
23.	do. PRESIDENT LINCOLN . . . . .	219
24.	do. WM. H. SEWARD . . . . .	219
25.	do. EDWIN M. STANTON . . . . .	219
26.	do. SALMON P. CHASE . . . . .	219
27.	do. MONTGOMERY BLAIR . . . . .	219
28.	do. GIDEON WELLES. . . . .	219
29.	DEATH OF GEN. LYON . . . . .	

NO.		PAGE.
30.	DEATH OF GEN. ZOLLICOFFER . . . . .	315
	CHARGE ON FORT DONELSON . . . . .	323
31.	ARTILLERY TRAIN . . . . .	338
32.	PORTRAIT OF GEN. DIX . . . . .	345
33.	do. GEN. POPE . . . . .	345
34.	do. GEN. MANSFIELD . . . . .	345
35.	do. GEN. BLENKER . . . . .	345
36.	do. GEN. HUNTER . . . . .	345
37.	do. GEN. HOOKER. . . . .	345
38.	do. GEN. HEINTZELMAN . . . . .	345
39.	do. GEN. PORTER . . . . .	345
40.	do. GEN. WADSWORTH . . . . .	345
41.	do. GEN. LANDER . . . . .	345
42.	do. GEN. MITCHELL . . . . .	345
43.	do. GEN. KELLEY . . . . .	345
44.	GUNBOAT. . . . .	352
45.	BOMBARDMENT OF FORTS WALKER AND BEAUREGARD,	371
46.	MAP OF LOUISIANA AND MISSISSIPPI . . . . .	380
47.	PORTRAIT OF COM. DUPONT . . . . .	381
48.	do. COM. FOOTE . . . . .	381
49.	do. COM. GOLDSBOROUGH . . . . .	381
50.	do. COM. PORTER . . . . .	381
51.	do. COM. STRINGHAM . . . . .	381
52.	do. COM. FARRAGUT . . . . .	381
53.	do. GEN. SHIELDS . . . . .	381
54.	do. GEN. FRANKLIN . . . . .	381
55.	do. GEN. SUMNER. . . . .	381
56.	do. GEN. SIGEL . . . . .	381
57.	do. GEN. ANDERSON . . . . .	381
58.	do. COL. CORCORAN . . . . .	381
59.	MAP OF NORTH CAROLINA . . . . .	385
60.	BURNSIDE'S EXPEDITION IN STORM . . . . .	387
61.	MAP OF ALABAMA . . . . .	390
62.	do. KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE . . . . .	406



## INTRODUCTION.

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THE attempt to delineate the progress of a contest in which the existence of a great nation is involved may fitly be preceded by a rapid review of the origin of the organic law of that nation, and of the previous struggles of discontented individuals, parties, or states, to resist, divide, or overthrow its government.

The thirteen colonies which united in the effort to throw off the British yoke in 1775, had some points of agreement, but more of difference. Their agreement arose from the purpose, common to them all, of resisting oppression; their differences were the result of diverse origin, different modes of life, and divergent views of the essential characteristics of a free government.

The confederation or alliance of these colonies, adopted by most of them in 1778, was a very weak and imperfect compact. Under it, the thirteen independent sovereignties were bound together rather by the moral attraction of a common purpose, than by that thorough affiliation which alone could make them a united nation. The collection of taxes, the adoption and enforcement of national measures, and that unity of action which would command the respect of foreign powers, were difficult if not impossible under such a compact, and the use of force for the accomplishment of either contravened the cardinal principle of the revolution that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

It was felt, in all quarters, that a constitution or compact of greater stringency, and which should engage more thoroughly the confidence and consent of the people, was needed; but so diverse were the views of the different states and of the leading statesmen, that it seemed hardly possible that there could be an instrument concocted which would receive general approval. Yet the attempt was

made; the initiative was taken by Virginia, whose legislature in 1786 recommended the calling of a convention at Annapolis, to endeavor to adopt some articles of agreement for a more efficient taxation, the prosecution of commerce, &c. In this convention but eight states were represented, and the delegates, fully convinced of the magnitude and radical character of the changes required, contented themselves with calling a convention to meet the ensuing spring (1787) to recommend such alterations in and additions to the articles of confederation, as they might deem necessary. In that convention, to which were sent the most eminent statesmen of each state, and to which we owe our Federal constitution, there was a great diversity of views. Two extreme parties appeared in the convention—the advocates of a strong government, in which the states should surrender the greater part of their rights to the nation, and which should be governed by a president with almost regal powers, elected for life; and the supporters of a mere confederation of states, somewhat stronger than that already existing, yet carefully guarded against any tendencies to centralization—in other words, the Federal and the State Rights parties. To the former belonged, with some exceptions, the delegates from New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina; to the latter most of those from the other states, though the great name of Washington was on the side of a strong government. Neither party was entirely successful. But early in the session of the convention, one thing was decided: *that the constitution was to bind the whole people, and not to be a mere state compact; that the people of the United States were to be one nation, and not an aggregation of sovereign states.* This point settled, there were still many others on which the delegates differed; and when the constitution was completed and submitted to the people for ratification, neither Washington, Jefferson, nor Franklin concealed the fact that there were portions of it which were not wholly satisfactory to them. In its ratification by the people of the different states, many amendments were suggested, and when, at last, with but slight changes, it became the bond of union of the nation, there were not wanting many, both in this and foreign countries, who predicted a brief existence to the nation thus consolidated.

It has proved, however, a bond of greater strength than even its friends dared to hope, and though some needful modifications have been made by the concurrent vote of the people who first adopted it, it has with each successive decade, and we might say indeed with each successive year, won a higher place in the love and admiration of the nation.

There have been, it is true, occasional efforts to transcend its provisions, to violate its obligations, or to subvert its spirit, but these have been the acts of a few restless and misguided individuals, or at most of a portion only of the citizens of two or three states, until the commencement of the present rebellion.

A brief notice of these manifestations of hostility to the national authority, may not be inappropriate. The first in the order of time was the Whiskey Rebellion of 1791-1794, in Western Pennsylvania. The Federal government, after its organization under the constitution, had assumed the debts incurred by the several states in the war for independence, and in order to provide for the payment of the interest and the eventual liquidation of the principal of that debt, the receipts of the national treasury must be increased by taxation. Heavy duties were laid on imported liquors, and the manufacture of whiskey, rum, gin, &c., which was very extensive in several of the states, was made to bear a part of the burden, in the way of an excise duty. The chief crop of Western Pennsylvania at that period was rye, which was almost entirely manufactured into whiskey, and sent east for the purchase of other needed commodities. The enhancement of the price of this liquor, in consequence of the excise duty, created intense excitement in that region, and led to active resistance of the collectors and inspectors of the stills, appointed by the government, some of whom were subjected to personal indignities and violence, in their attempts to perform their duties. The law was modified, at the instance of the class who are always desirous of a compromise in such cases, but the insurgents would accept no terms short of its entire repeal, and resisted the collection of the tax till July, 1794. At that time the United States marshal was ordered to take a posse of armed men and serve warrants upon thirty offending distillers. He was successful in the service of the writs in every case except

one, who made an armed resistance, compelled the officers to fly for their lives, and burned the house of the district inspector. Encouraged by this success, the insurgents now called out a force of 7,000 men, stopped and robbed the mail, under pretext of ascertaining who of the citizens were in complicity with the government, and proceeded to array themselves in open opposition to the national authority. General Washington, then President, issued his proclamation commanding the insurgents to disperse, and this proving ineffectual, he called out a force of 15,000 men from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania to suppress the rebellion. It being understood that every man found in arms would be arrested and hung, the insurgents became appalled, and calling a convention at Parkinson's Ferry, adopted resolutions of entire submission. General Lee, with the Federal force, proceeded to the insurgent district, and, the excise officers performing their duties with very little opposition, proclaimed an amnesty.

In 1798, the efforts of certain French revolutionists and their sympathizers to involve this country actively on the side of France, and in war with England, and the violence of their denunciations of President Adams, who opposed their policy, led to the passage by Congress of the alien acts and the sedition law. The former gave the President power for two years to order all such aliens as he might deem dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, to leave the country, and made provision also for registering the names and residence of aliens. These laws were never enforced, the President not deeming it necessary. The sedition law punished, by heavy fines, any attempt to excite insurrection, or to conspire against the government, or the publication of any false, scandalous, or malicious writings against the President, or other officers of government or Congress. The operation of this act was also limited to two years. The Anti-Federalists, who were then in opposition, saw in the passage of these laws the opportunity of defeating the Federal party, and attaining to power. They accordingly made a great outcry in regard to them, and introduced resolutions, taking strong ground in favor of state rights, into the legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky; those in the former state being drawn by James Madison, and those in the latter drafted originally by Thomas Jefferson, though subse-

quently modified, and some of their objectionable passages altered, by George Nicholas. Mr. Madison's resolutions, though avowing the doctrine that the federal government is a compact between the states as states, a doctrine utterly repudiated elsewhere, proposed no nullification of the laws of Congress, and Mr. Madison himself subsequently explained that no extra-constitutional measures were intended. The original draft of Jefferson's resolutions was more objectionable. The eighth resolution declared, that when Congress assumes powers not delegated by the people (the states themselves being the sole judges), "a nullification of the act is the right remedy, and that every state has a natural right, in cases not within the compact, to nullify, of their own authority, all assumptions of power by others within their limits." These resolutions passed the two legislatures, with the more objectionable passages altered, and were sent to the legislatures of the other states for their concurrence, but *not one concurred*. The object of their authors was, nevertheless, accomplished; the ensuing presidential election resulted in the success of the Anti-Federalists, and Thomas Jefferson was chosen President. But the poisonous seeds thus carelessly sown, in due time sprang up and bore fruit which their author would have repudiated as heartily as any other patriot of his time. The doctrine that a state has the power and right to nullify the acts of the national government when she may deem them unconstitutional or injurious to her interests, is one of the foundation heresies of secession.

The conspiracy of Aaron Burr, to found an empire in the west, was rather the mad scheme of an ambitious and reckless adventurer, than a serious attempt at the overthrow of our government, and it is unnecessary to speak of it particularly here.

The next manifestation of a spirit hostile to the government, came from New England. The commerce of the New England states, after the revolution and in the early years of the present century, had become very extensive. Salem, Boston, Newburyport, and other seaports of Massachusetts, were largely engaged in the East India trade; New Bedford, Gloucester and Marblehead in the fisheries; and the fleets of Providence and Newport, Rhode Island, were found in almost equal numbers on the coasts of continental Europe, Asia and Africa. The shipping of Port-

land, in the district of Maine, and of the Connecticut ports almost held the monopoly of the trade with the West Indies and South America. The embargo act of 1807, following, as it did, the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the orders in council, proved the ruin of this commerce, and excited deep and bitter feeling against the government in those states. An emissary from Great Britain, one John Henry, who visited these states at that time, is said to have done something toward fostering this dissatisfaction.

The declaration of war in 1812, was regarded by the commercial class in Massachusetts and Connecticut as an added wrong, and a strong "peace party" was organized, which caused the support given to the war to be feeble and inefficient. The militia from those states had, nevertheless, done good service during the first two years of the war; but the government had called them to the defence of other sections, while the ports of New England were unprotected from the ravages of the enemy, and meanwhile had, from want of resources, been compelled to throw their support upon the states themselves, while it refused to allow those states to furnish officers to command them. This excited further complaint, and the entire New England states had become strongly dissatisfied with the government, and with the southern and central states, which favored the war. On the 15th of December, 1814, a convention of delegates from the five states (Maine was as yet a district of Massachusetts), met in secret session at Hartford, Conn. They remained in session till January 5th, 1815, and two weeks later published a report and series of resolutions adopted by them. The first of these recommended the legislatures of the New England states to protect their citizens from the operation of acts passed by Congress, subjecting them to forcible drafts, conscriptions, or impressments, not authorized by the constitution; the second recommended that the states be empowered to defend themselves, and that they should have for this purpose their proportion of the taxes collected; the third advised each state to defend itself against foreign foes; the fourth suggested several amendments to the Federal constitution, making the white population the basis of the apportionment of taxation and representation, requiring a vote of two-thirds of both houses for the admission of new states, for the interdiction of foreign trade,



and for making war, except in defence of territory actually invaded, the restriction of the power of Congress in laying an embargo to a period of sixty days, making naturalized citizens ineligible to civil office, and prohibiting the election of President for two successive terms, or of two successive Presidents from the same state. They also recommended, in case these resolutions, when submitted to the general government through the several states, should not receive attention, if peace should not be concluded, and the interests of the New England states be still neglected, that another convention should be called at Boston, with such powers and instructions as the exigencies of the case might require. The report accompanying these resolutions reiterated, in language strikingly similar to that of Mr. Jefferson's draft of the resolutions of 1798, the extreme state rights doctrine.

Here was, it will be seen, no proposed violation of the constitution, no insurrectionary movement, but simply the carrying out to its ultimate results of the state rights heresy. But, moderate as were the measures proposed by this Hartford convention, compared with those which have since been propounded in other parts of the Union, they met with no approval from the people of the New England states. The people of Connecticut were stimulated by them to more active loyalty, and the only expression of opinion they called forth in the other states, was one of entire disapprobation.

The close of the war, very soon after, may have had its effect in producing this result; but it is certain that every member of that convention was, in consequence of his connection with it, consigned to political oblivion.

The excitement consequent upon the application of Missouri for admission into the Union with a constitution recognizing slavery, was another scene of peril for the existence of our national government. The previous admissions of slave states, like Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Mississippi, had been from territory belonging to, and peopled by, the citizens of slave states; or in the single case of Louisiana, of a populous district possessing large numbers of slaves when under the sway of another power, and transferred into the Union without change of its institutions or local laws.

In the case of Missouri, there was a new issue. The

ordinance of 1787, by which slavery was excluded from all territory north-west of the Ohio, was an expression of the sentiment of the people in opposition to the extension of slavery over the territories which might hereafter become states; and it was urged that the admission of Missouri (which was divided only by the Mississippi river from that territory) with slavery, was virtually annulling that expression of the popular will. The advocates of the admission of the state, on the other hand, urged that as slavery existed in Louisiana territory, of which Missouri had formed a part at the time of its admission, it would be a violation of the faith of the treaty, by which the United States had pledged itself to maintain the rights and privileges of the inhabitants of that territory on the same footing with that of its other citizens, to refuse to admit her with such social institutions as she preferred. The question was discussed with great ability during the greater part of three sessions of Congress, and produced an extraordinary excitement throughout the country. A resolution prohibiting slavery, and providing for the gradual emancipation of the slaves then in the state, passed the House, but was lost in the Senate. A compromise measure proposed by Henry Clay finally ended the controversy. Missouri was admitted as a slave state, but slavery was prohibited in all territory north of the line of  $36^{\circ} 30'$ , and south of that line the United States held no territories at that time except Arkansas and Florida, both of which from their position would necessarily be slave states. The adherence to this compromise was solemnly guaranteed, and it was regarded as a final settlement of the question of the territorial extension of slavery. The vote on the admission of the state into the Union was taken in August, 1821, and in the Senate stood 28 yeas to 14 nays; in the House, 86 yeas to 82 nays.

The next attempt at nullifying or resisting the authority of the government of the United States, occurred in Georgia and Alabama in 1825. The Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee Indians, held large tracts of lands in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida, which had been secured to them as "reservations" by the United States government. They had been the original proprietors of the soil of the entire Gulf states, but by treaty had relinquished to the United States all except nine a half



millions of acres in Georgia, seven and a half millions in Alabama, fifteen and three-fourths millions in Mississippi, and four millions in Florida. They were considerably advanced in civilization, and had their houses, farms, and herds of cattle on their reservations. But the rapid settlement of these states caused the settlers to look with a greedy eye on these lands, and their state legislatures began to demand that the general government should remove the whole body of Indians to the region west of the Mississippi, about the head-waters of the Arkansas. So peremptory were the demands of Georgia to this effect (she having stipulated in her cession of Mississippi territory, that the Indian titles to land in that state should be extinguished "whenever it could be accomplished peaceably and on reasonable terms"), that just before the close of Mr. Monroe's administration, commissioners were appointed to make a treaty with the Creeks for the purchase of their lands by the United States government. A treaty was negotiated (as it afterward appeared, fraudulently) on the 12th of February, 1825, between the Creek chief, General William McIntosh, and Mr. Crowell, the United States agent, by which all the Creek reservations in Georgia, and a large tract in Alabama, were ceded to the government. On learning of this treaty, the Creeks were greatly excited and refused to accept it. On the 30th of April, a party of them assassinated McIntosh and another chief who had signed the treaty with him, and burned his house. The state authorities of Georgia hereupon resolved to take possession of the territory by force, and called out troops for the purpose. As the United States government had, by treaty, stipulated to protect the Indians in their just rights, President Adams sent a force of Federal troops to the confines of the reservation for that purpose. Georgia called on the adjacent states, and troops and money were raised to assist Georgia "against the government and the Indians." In this emergency President Adams gathered at Washington the head men and principal chiefs of the Creeks, and negotiated a new treaty with them, by which all the lands in Georgia, but none of those in Alabama, were ceded to the government. This treaty was ratified by Congress, though opposed by the Georgia delegation, and was faithfully observed by the Indians. As there was no excuse for further hostilities, the Georgia troops were disbanded.

The tariff act of 1828 was the occasion of another rebellious *émeute*, and this time South Carolina was the chief actor, though encouraged by several of the other Southern states. The war of 1812 had led to the encouragement of the manufacturing interest, and for the protection of that interest against the formidable rivalry of British manufacturers, Congress had, from time to time, laid heavy duties on such imported products, woollens, coarse cottons, sugars, &c., as competed with our manufactures; as they had, in the infancy of the cotton production, laid a heavy impost on the importation of raw cotton. The woollen manufacture was carried on in most of the states, New York, Massachusetts, Georgia, and Pennsylvania being most largely engaged in it. But when, in 1828, a higher duty was proposed on several classes of goods, and woollens among them, Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, then a member of the United States Senate, took occasion to denounce the act as unconstitutional, a Northern exaction, a tribute which the South was to be compelled to pay to the North, and to assert the right and duty of his state to nullify the law, by refusing to pay the duties. Mr. Webster replied to Mr. Hayne in that great speech in defence of the powers of the constitution, which has become historical, and so completely annihilated the doctrine of nullification that its resurrection seemed impossible. Events proved, however, that the speech of Mr. Hayne was only the first step in the development of a plan to give the planting states the control of the government, or to take them out of the Union. The state rights heresy was already a favorite doctrine in Virginia and South Carolina, and was gaining ground in other of the Southern states; and to the propagation of this doctrine and the defence and support of nullification Mr. Hayne and Mr. Calhoun, then Vice-President of the United States, lent their great powers. An open rupture between the United States and South Carolina seemed imminent, and, as usual, the timid recommended conciliation and the modification of the offensive tariff, and succeeded in procuring a reduction of some of the duties; but this only encouraged the conspirators to further demands. Congress, they urged, had been terrified into concessions by the threats of South Carolina; let those threats be increased, and every thing would be yielded. The legislature of that state met in the autumn

of 1832, and appointed a committee on the relations of the state with the Federal government. That committee reported in almost the language of Jefferson's resolutions, and the report of the Hartford convention, declaring the Federal constitution a mere compact between independent and sovereign states; that when any violation of the spirit of that compact took place, it was the right of the state to remonstrate against it; and that, though there was a tribunal appointed under the constitution to decide controversies where the United States was a party, yet in some questions which occurred between the government and the state it would be unsafe to submit to any judicial tribunal, and it was proper for the state legislature to decide such questions for itself.

A convention of delegates was summoned to meet on the 19th of November, to act for the state in the crisis. Virginia, Alabama, and Georgia, meanwhile, heartily endorsed, in their legislatures, the course taken by South Carolina, although the two latter states had just received from the United States the titles to the Indian lands, the cession of which had been obtained at a very heavy cost. The state convention met at Columbia, on the 19th of November, and Governor (late United States senator) Hayne was elected its president. Resolutions were passed, declaring the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 null and void, and not binding upon the citizens of the states; and that in case the general government should attempt their enforcement by naval or military power, the union between South Carolina and the United States should be considered dissolved, and a convention called to form a government for that state. It was also resolved that no appeal should be permitted to be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States in respect to the validity of the ordinances of the convention, or of the laws passed to give effect thereto. A special session of the legislature was called on the adjournment of the convention, and acts passed authorizing the governor to call out the militia to resist any attempt of the United States government to enforce the laws, and ordering the purchase of 10,000 stand of arms and the necessary munitions of war. This was followed by Mr. Calhoun's resignation of the Vice-Presidency, and his election to the United States Senate. It had been the intention of President Jackson to direct his arrest on his arrival

at Washington, have him tried for high treason, and, if he were convicted, to execute him. Messrs. Webster, Clay, and others, dissuaded him from this step; but to his dying day, the stern old man insisted that his neglecting to do this was the one great error of his administration. On the 10th of December the President issued his proclamation against nullification, in which he stated plainly the nature of the Federal government, denied emphatically the dogma that the constitution was a mere compact between the states, declared its supremacy, and exhorted the citizens of South Carolina not to persist in a course which must bring upon their state the whole military force of the republic, and expose the Union to the hazard of dissolution.

While thus expostulating with South Carolina, the President did not forget that the exhibition of power sufficient to enforce his authority was the surest means of securing attention to his remonstrances. A considerable military force was ordered to Charleston, and a sloop of war sent to that port to protect the Federal officers in the discharge of their duties; and, before the South Carolinians were aware, General Scott, with a strong garrison, was in Fort Moultrie, prepared, if necessary, to use its cannon in the collection of the revenue. In his message to Congress, President Jackson recommended a peaceful settlement, if possible, but avowed his determination, if Congress did not deem it best to modify or repeal the law, to force South Carolina to submission. He declared nullification rebellion against the government, and such rebellion he deemed it his duty to suppress. This position of the President was sustained by the whole country except the states of Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, and there was in each of these a large anti-nullification party. The determined position of the President and the formidable preparations of General Scott, had a sensible effect in cooling the ardor of the South Carolinians. The revenues were collected at the Charleston Custom House, under the provisions of the hated tariffs, and all was quiet. The state convention met, and resolved that it would wait until February 1st before ordering any hostile action. On the 21st of January, 1833, a bill was introduced into the United States Senate by Mr. Wilkins, of Pennsylvania, authorizing the President to summon, if necessary, the entire military power of the United States to put down the opposition to the collection

of the revenue. In the course of the discussion on this bill, Mr. Calhoun, in a speech of great casuistry and adroitness, defended the state rights interpretation of the constitution; and Mr. Webster replied in an argument showing most conclusively that the constitution was a bond of union of the people, and not a compact between sovereign states, and that there was no place nor room for state action to nullify national laws. The bill of Mr. Wilkins passed by an almost unanimous vote. The right and power of the government being thus maintained, Henry Clay proposed and carried through both houses a measure of compromise and concession, providing for a gradual reduction of the tariff duties to a minimum rate, to be reached in December, 1841. The 1st of February had come, but no resistance had been offered to the collection of the revenue, and on the 11th of March, Governor Hayne summoned the convention to "accept the highly satisfactory settlement of the difficulty afforded by the compromise of Mr. Clay, and to declare the great principle of state sovereignty established." This partial triumph was the source of subsequent mischief. South Carolina had, substantially, gained her demands, and her leading men believed that they had only to watch their opportunity, and under a less resolute executive put forth their demands, accompanying them with threats, and they would be granted. In the next thirty years the experiment was tried more than once, and always with success.

The policy of the government at the adoption of the Constitution, and for some years after, had been to repress slavery. It was the belief of the framers of the constitution that it would die out in a few years, and all of them regarded such a result as one to be desired. But the invention of the cotton-gin gave an impulse to the cultivation of cotton, and the rapid extension of the cotton manufacture rendered it so profitable and important a crop that the demand for slaves to cultivate it increased beyond the supply, and the price was greatly enhanced. But the system of cultivation by slave labor wore out the lands of the cotton planters in a few years, and they were compelled to move to new lands in order to obtain a good crop. This, and the desire to secure the political ascendancy in the United States government for the South, led the statesmen of the South to seek constantly for the ad-

dition of new territory which could be made into slave states.

This motive had great weight in inducing the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, without warrant from the constitution; in the purchase of Florida from Spain in 1819; and in the struggle for the admission of Missouri as a slave state in 1820, in which, as we have seen, they were successful.

With this increase of slavery, however, there had been gradually springing up in the minds of the people of the non-slaveholding states a dislike of the system, and about the time of the nullification movement this feeling began to take form in public expression in newspapers, lectures, &c. At first the interests of the great body of the Northern people, especially the manufacturing, mercantile, and commercial classes, were so fully identified with the South, that they were little inclined to tolerate any condemnation of slavery; and many of those who wrote or spoke against it were mobbed and maltreated. The Southern leaders were enraged at the agitation of the subject of slavery. There was some reason to fear that their slaves might learn that there were those who desired their freedom, and thus be tempted to rise in insurrection; there was more reason to dread that if the opposition to slavery assumed an organized form, it might eventually curtail their power in the government, and, since the North increased in population so much more rapidly than the South, prevent the consummation of their plans for the extension of slave territory, and their control of the national administration. For these reasons they adopted measures of severe repression whenever any attempt was made to oppose or condemn the institution. The reception of petitions by Congress on any subject connected with emancipation was prohibited; an attempt was made to expel John Quincy Adams, a former President of the United States, from the House of Representatives for offering such a petition; laws were passed authorizing the seizure of anti-slavery pamphlets or papers passing through the mails, and postmasters were made the judges of their incendiary character; for years respectable newspapers, published in New York, were not permitted to reach subscribers in the Southern states by mail. Colored seamen, citizens of Massachusetts, were, under state laws, seized and kept in jail at Charleston,



Savannah, and New Orleans, while their vessels were in port, and occasionally sold to pay the jail fees; and when that state sent an agent, one of her most distinguished and honored citizens, to South Carolina, to test the constitutionality of these laws, he was treated with great indignity, and threatened with being mobbed unless he left the state within twenty-four hours. A citizen of Kentucky, of one of her most eminent families, who dared to advocate gradual emancipation, and set the example by freeing his own slaves, was set upon by assassins, and though he defended himself with great bravery, was wounded nigh unto death; and when subsequently he established a paper to set forth his views, his press was destroyed and his type thrown into the river, and his life threatened. The support of Northern men was demanded for whatever measures were deemed necessary to maintain and strengthen slavery; and if any reluctance was shown, the threat to dissolve the Union unless their demands were granted, was always ready.

In 1844, the statesmen of the South saw an opportunity of materially increasing the area of slave territory by the annexation of Texas, which would give them the preponderance in Congress which they were otherwise likely to lose in the next decade. John Tyler, then President by the death of General Harrison, was favorable to their purpose. The annexation was consummated, with a proviso allowing four more states to be set off from its territory when the population should be sufficient, to be slave or free states, as their inhabitants should elect. This annexation led to the war with Mexico, which was very popular in the South, from the belief that it would still further increase the territory to be devoted to slavery. When the war closed, and California, Utah, and New Mexico were added to our domain, and the discovery of gold sent a vast body of emigrants to California, who soon claimed its admission to the Union with a free state constitution, the Southern leaders were greatly disappointed and vexed. They opposed its admission with great violence, and only consented after a further compromise, by which a new fugitive slave law, depriving the fugitive of a trial by jury, and compelling all citizens, under a penalty of \$1,000 fine and six months' or a year's imprisonment, to aid in the surrender of an alleged slave, was passed, and the government was required to pay to Texas the sum of ten millions of dollars

(in addition to the previous assumption of her debts), for the Gadsden tract, a barren, worthless strip of land, to which her claim was, to say the least, doubtful.

It is not a matter of wonder, that some of the Northern states, to all of which the surrender of fugitive slaves had always been an irksome duty, should have been provoked by the passage of this fugitive slave law into the enactment of such state laws as should render it difficult of execution, and only capable of enforcement in cases where there was no possibility of question of the *status* of the alleged fugitive. Some of the states passed "personal liberty bills," securing a jury trial before surrender, forbidding the use of the county jails or other prisons for the detention of fugitives, &c. Some of these laws probably conflicted with the provisions of the constitution of the United States, and thus were void; but others kept within the letter of that instrument. In several of the states they were repealed as a conciliatory measure in 1861.

Thwarted in their expectation of adding territory for new slave states by the Mexican war, the leaders of the Southern party turned their attention in a new direction. In the heart of the continent lay a broad tract of excellent land, directly west of Missouri, but all of it above the parallel of  $36^{\circ} 30'$ . Toward this rich and fertile region the attention of emigrants was now directed, as one of the most desirable for agricultural purposes. It was proposed to erect it into two territories, Kansas and Nebraska. By the terms of the Missouri compromise, it must be free territory, but the South had already realized all it could hope for of profit from that compromise; Missouri, Arkansas, and Florida had all been admitted as slave states; and they had also acquired Texas, which would in time, they hoped, make four more slave states. The north had received five free states, Maine, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, and California; and two more, Minnesota and Oregon, would before long ask for admission. The advantage was yet, apparently, on the Southern side, but they were resolved to have Kansas also, and to do this the Missouri compromise must be repealed. Alexander H. Stephens, then a member of Congress from Georgia, now Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, was selected to engineer the repeal, and thus to throw open the whole of the territories to slavery, and he did it with great adroitness. He procured the making



of the proposition for repeal both in the Senate and in the House by Northern men—Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, bringing in a bill to that effect in the Senate, and Mr. Richardson, of the same state, in the House. After a long and exciting discussion, the measure was forced through, and received the sanction of President Pierce in 1854.

A case of considerable interest in relation to an alleged fugitive slave named Dred Scott coming before the Supreme Court of the United States about this time, the chief-justice, Roger B. Taney, took occasion, after rendering his opinion in the case, to declare that negroes could not be citizens of the United States, and to promulgate the doctrine "that they had no rights which a white man was bound to respect." He also gave it as his individual opinion that the slaveholder had a right to take and hold his slaves in any of the territories. A part of the associate justices of the Supreme Court coincided in this opinion, but others, and among them Justices McLean and Curtis, dissented.

The obstacle to making Kansas a slave state, which had been interposed by the Missouri compromise, having now been removed, great efforts were made to send slaveholding emigrants thither, and to secure its admission with a slave constitution. This was found, however, a matter of greater difficulty than had been at first expected. In Massachusetts and New York, Kansas Aid Societies had been organized, with branches throughout most of the Northern states, by which funds were raised, lands purchased, steam saw and flouring mills set up, hotels and dwelling houses erected, and emigrants furnished with the means of removal to Kansas, and necessary assistance after their arrival, to maintain free institutions and oppose the establishment of slavery there. The Southern emigrants, aided by organized bands, known as "border ruffians," prominent among whom was David Atchison, formerly United States Senator from Missouri, soon came in collision with the Northern settlers, and sought in many instances to drive them from their settlements. Serious outrages, robbery, and often bloodshed, were the results. Arms were sent from the Eastern states to the Northern emigrants, and in several instances bloody battles were fought. The United States government interposed, but without much effect, its policy being vacillating and uncertain. After about

three years of anarchy and disturbance, the border ruffians found the Northern settlers too strong for them, and left the territory. The settlers met in convention repeatedly, and adopted a state constitution; but on one pretext or another they were refused admission into the Union until the second session of the thirty-sixth Congress (1860-61).

Foiled in this attempt to increase the area of slave territory, the Southern leaders turned their attention to regions outside of the United States. The annexation of Cuba, peaceably or by force, had long been one of their favorite schemes, which Mr. Buchanan did all in his power to accomplish by purchase; but the decided refusal of Spain to listen to any proposition for parting with it, put an end to that negotiation. The possession of Nicaragua or some other of the Central American states, to be accomplished by an armed irruption and revolution, was another measure looking to the same end. An adventurer, named William Walker, fitted out several successive expeditions from Southern ports for this purpose, and prominent men in the South aided him with money and men, while the government made some feeble efforts to prevent the departure of the piratical expeditions. These enterprises failed, and, at the last, Walker was taken prisoner and executed by the Costa Rican government.

One of the results of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and of these desperate attempts to seize upon Kansas, and to acquire new regions to devote to slavery, was the organization of the Republican party, whose motto was "No more slave territory." This party originated in the autumn of 1855, and in 1856 nominated John C. Fremont for the Presidency. The Democratic party in the same campaign nominated James Buchanan. The contest was a very bitter one, but resulted in Mr. Buchanan's election. At one time the result was regarded as doubtful, and preparations were made by the political leaders in Virginia and South Carolina, as well as in some of the other Southern states, for precipitating the secession of their several states in the event of Mr. Fremont's election.

# HISTORY OF THE GREAT REBELLION.

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## CHAPTER I.

Failure of Southern Schemes.—Secession determined upon.—Knights of the Golden Circle.—Treachery of Cabinet Officers.—Division of the Democratic Party by Southern Intrigue.—Election of Mr. Lincoln.—The John Brown Raid.—“The Impending Crisis” and the “Compendium.”—Excitement in Congress.—Movements for Secession in the Cotton States.—Resignation of Howell Cobb and John B. Floyd.

MR. BUCHANAN was inaugurated President March 4th, 1857; and it was not long before the leaders of the South began to discover that all their schemes for the extension of the area of slavery were destined to prove futile. Kansas, amid strife and bloodshed, was struggling on toward the position of a free state, and was certain in the end to secure it; Cuba could neither be bought nor conquered; and Walker's expeditions not only lacked respectability, but were unsuccessful. There was then no resource for them but to attempt the desperate measure which their great Southern statesman had advised thirty years before—SECESSION. They might reasonably hope to carry with them, they believed, a portion of the north-west, to which the navigation of the Mississippi was indispensable; and the great states of Pennsylvania and New York had such large commercial interests in slavery, that they regarded it as probable that they too would unite with them. New England, northern New York, the northern portions of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota they did not care for.

In order to accomplish this change several things were

necessary. The minds of the prominent men in the South must be prepared for it, without raising excitement or apprehension on the part of the North. For this purpose a secret order, the "Knights of the Golden Circle," having for its primary object the extension and defence of slavery, was organized, and several degrees, as in the Masonic order, were open to the aspirant for high rank in it. To the initiated of the highest rank the whole plot was revealed, and the others, with but a half-consciousness of its purposes, were led on to further its designs. Among the officers and members of the higher degrees of the order were, it was said, cabinet and other officers of the government, and prominent citizens of all the Southern and some of the Northern states.

It was necessary also to make preparation in the way of arms and money for the secession movement, which they had resolved should take place immediately after the next presidential election. It was not difficult to accomplish this. Four of the members of Mr. Buchanan's cabinet were their friends and at their service. These were Mr. Cobb, the secretary of the treasury, Mr. Floyd, secretary of war, Mr. Toucey, secretary of the navy, and Mr. Thompson, secretary of the interior. Mr. Cobb aided them both directly and indirectly, with money and credit. Mr. Toucey sent all the best ships of the navy to distant ports, while Mr. Floyd, in addition to his other frauds, elsewhere detailed, disposed of loyal officers by sending them to remote and secluded ports, dismantling Northern forts, and refusing supplies of arms to Northern men. Mr. Thompson contented himself with advocating treason.

It was necessary, moreover, to their success in the accomplishment of the act of secession, that they should have a decent and plausible pretext. If the government at the next presidential election could be thrown into the hands of the Republican party, which could not poll any considerable vote in the slave states, this would afford a very tolerable excuse for a revolution, as the new government

could be assailed on the ground that it represented only a section of the United States. To accomplish this in such a way as not to have it evident to the world, was a somewhat difficult task, but it was finally performed. Mr. Douglas was a favorite with a large portion of the democratic party in the North, but, although he had brought forward the repeal of the Missouri compromise, had not much strength in the South on account of his subsequent opposition to some of their most extreme measures. His friends had urged him strongly for the presidency in 1856, and there had been a general understanding that he would have the nomination in 1860.

The Southern leaders now put forward Mr. Breckinridge, then Vice-President, as a candidate, and, having packed the Democratic National Convention at Charleston, prevented a nomination, but secured an adjournment to Baltimore, where they divided, and one party nominated Mr. Breckinridge and the other Mr. Douglas. This was just what they desired. The Republican party, though it had increased rapidly within four years, yet numbered fewer adherents than the Democratic party, and could the votes of the latter party be concentrated on one candidate, he would be elected; but with two candidates in the field opposed to him, and dividing the Democratic vote, the Republican candidate would certainly be elected, and their pretext for secession gained. The Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and, unsuspecting of the tactics of the Southern leaders, adopted a moderate and conciliatory platform. The election was still further complicated by the nomination of a Union ticket, at the head of which was placed John Bell of Tennessee, while Edward Everett of Massachusetts was its candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

The canvass was conducted with more than usual bitterness, and the Southern conspirators threw out constant threats, that in the event of Mr. Lincoln's election the Union should be dissolved. These threats were but little

regarded at the North, since, the election of the President taking place under a strict observance of all the forms of the constitution, and all the states participating in it, it was not believed that the Southern states would repudiate a result to which, by voting, they had made themselves parties. Such a breach of faith had never occurred in the history of the country, and the threats uttered were regarded as but a repetition of the old policy of the Southern politicians.

The popular vote was as follows:—

For Abraham Lincoln, Republican candidate....	1,857,610
“ Stephen A. Douglas, Northern Democrat....	1,365,976
“ John C. Breckinridge, Southern Democrat..	847,953
“ John Bell, Union.....	590,631

Total.....4,662,170

Had the Democratic vote been united on one candidate, that candidate would have had a plurality of 400,000 over Mr. Lincoln. The electoral vote stood: for Mr. Lincoln, 180; for Mr. Douglas, 12; for Mr. Breckinridge, 72; for Mr. Bell, 39; giving Mr. Lincoln a clear majority of 57 electoral votes over all his competitors. He had received the electoral vote of 17 of the 33 states, and votes had been cast for him in 23 states, so that his election could not with truth be said to be a geographical or sectional one.

We must go back a year or so in our narrative, to allude to other events which exerted some influence in preparing the way for the crisis which was approaching.

In October, 1859, an incident occurred which showed that, under the seeming calm, a volcano was burning, and that at any moment an upheaval of the whole framework of society might take place. Among the early emigrants from the North to Kansas was John Brown, formerly a citizen of the state of New York, who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the Southern emigrants by his courage and daring in defence of his settlement at Ossawatimie, against the “border ruffians,” who had endeavored, more than once, to rob and plunder his settle-

ment, and murder him and his family. This old man, a stern Puritan in habit and turn of mind, had been goaded by great and oft-repeated wrongs, to a frenzied hatred of slavery, and had finally come to believe himself raised up of God as a leader to effect its overthrow in this country. He brooded upon this idea till it became a monomania with him. He addressed letters to prominent citizens at the North asking pecuniary aid, but never developing his plans. Some, deeming him insane, refused; others, supposing that he was only intent upon plans for keeping slavery out of Kansas, sent him money. He had several hundred pikes made, and concealed in the mountains near Harper's Ferry, Va., gathered seventeen white and half a dozen black followers, and on the 16th of October made a descent upon the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, captured it without bloodshed, took several prominent citizens prisoners, and issued a proclamation to the slaves of the vicinity to rally to his standard. He evidently believed that they would, without further effort on his part, come to him, and it was a part of his design to declare them free, without, if he could avoid it, shedding any blood.

The intelligence of this raid produced a terrible excitement in Virginia. Henry A. Wise, then governor of the state, called out a force of several thousand militia, and extended the panic by violent proclamations. Meantime, Brown remained in possession of the arsenal, and though two or three thousand of the Virginia militia had gathered in the vicinity, it was not until a company of marines, with artillery, sent by the President, had attacked the arsenal, wounded him, and killed and wounded several of his men, that he surrendered. The old man and five of his companions, and two others subsequently captured, were delivered up to Virginia, tried for treason, found guilty, and sentenced to be hung. Efforts were made to induce Governor Wise to extend executive clemency to them, on the ground that Brown was undoubtedly insane, and that his



companions had been led to follow him without any treasonable intent ; but the governor was inexorable, and the sentences were strictly carried out. In many parts of the North Brown was regarded rather as a martyr than a criminal, and the wrong he had committed was obscured by the cruelty of the punishment he suffered.

About two years previous to this event Hinton Rowan Helper, a native of North Carolina, who had been till the prime of manhood a citizen of that state, published a work entitled "The Impending Crisis," in which, drawing his statistics from the United States census and other sources, he had attempted to demonstrate the evil and degrading influence of slavery on the non-slaveholding whites of the South, and urged them to exert themselves in their several states for its overthrow. The book possessed small literary merit, and was characterized in passages by a bitter spirit which marred its value, but the statistics it contained illustrated forcibly the effect of slavery upon the white population. The work had not met with a large sale, although it had attracted some attention. In the summer of 1859 a proposition was made to compile from it a "compendium," containing the statistical portion and some notes of explanation, leaving out the denunciatory passages, to be circulated as a campaign document by the Republican party, preparatory to the next Presidential campaign. A circular was prepared, and the object appearing unobjectionable, it was signed by most of the leading men of that party, without ever having seen the book. The preparation of this compendium was delayed, and when Congress assembled in December, 1859, after the John Brown raid, members of Congress from the slave states had secured copies of the original work, and accused the members who had signed the circular to which we have referred of designs against the Union and against the South in their commendation of that work. John Sherman of Ohio, the Republican candidate for speaker, was defeated, though the Republican and American parties together had a ma-



jority in the house, because his name was appended to the circular; and the session was much of it consumed in violent denunciation and recrimination on the part of the members from the slaveholding states. One result of this denunciation was to secure for the book thousands of readers who would not otherwise have seen it.

The Presidential election took place on the 6th of November; on the 10th of the same month, a bill was introduced into the South Carolina legislature for the calling out and equipment of 10,000 volunteers, and an election was ordered the same day to be held on the 6th of December, to choose delegates to a convention to take action on the question of secession. Messrs. Chesnut and Hammond, senators from South Carolina, resigned their seats on the 10th and 11th of November. Meetings in favor of disunion were held within a week from the election in all the principal towns of the cotton states. Robert Toombs, then and for two months later a member of the United States Senate, made a violent speech in favor of secession at Milledgeville, Georgia. On the 10th of December Howell Cobb, secretary of the treasury, resigned, having previously declared himself unable to extricate the United States treasury from the condition of bankruptcy, to which he had reduced it by his mismanagement. On the 15th of December South Carolina, whose secession convention, already called, met two days afterward, and five days later passed the ordinance of secession, drew her quota of United States arms for the year 1861, John B. Floyd, secretary of war, accepting the requisition of her governor; and on the 29th of the same month Floyd resigned, after having delivered to all the seceding states their full quota of arms for the next year as well as for the current one, and ordering the greater part of the regular army to parts so distant as to render it impossible to bring them to the Atlantic coast in season to meet any emergency. So rapid was the development of the conspiracy, within the two months that elapsed between the Presidential election and the new year.

## CHAPTER II.

Preparations for Secession.—South Carolina Convention.—Ordinance of Secession.—Effect of its Passage in Charleston.—Declaration of Causes.—Withdrawal of South Carolina members from Washington.—Resolutions for Convention of Seceded States.—A Houseless People.—Alabama and Mississippi Delegates at Washington.—Mississippi Convention.—Passage of Ordinance.—Alabama Convention.—Ordinance.—Display in Mobile.—Florida Ordinance.—Seizure of Forts.—Death to hold Office under the Federal Government.—Georgia's Resolution in response to New York.—Ordinance of Secession.—Louisiana Convention.—Ordinance passed.—A Gold Pen for each Signer.—Texas Convention.—Ordinance.—Vote of the People.—General Houston.—Border States for the Union.—Virginia Resolutions.—Peace Convention opposed to Coercion.—Adverse effect of the Call for Troops.—Ordinance of Secession.—Convention with the Confederacy.—Arkansas.—Secession defeated.—On the Call of the President, Secession passed unanimously.—North Carolina Ordinance passed.—Tennessee Act of Independence.—Military League.—Kentucky neutral.—Maryland Resolutions.—4th of February.—Confederate Congress.—Delegates.—Constitution.—Jefferson Davis, President.—Address.—Enactments of the Congress.

THE general movement throughout the South to bring about concert of action in relation to separation, as soon as the result of the election should be known, was no secret to far-seeing and sagacious men of the North. General Scott, in his letter published in October, 1860, earnestly called attention to the impending danger, but without impressing the public mind at the North with its reality. So early had all the elements been prepared, that on the 17th December, 1860, the South Carolina convention, for which delegates had been elected, met at Columbia, but on account of the small-pox, which then prevailed, adjourned to Charleston. On the 20th, the ordinance of secession was taken up. It was textually as follows :

## SECESSION ORDINANCE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

*"An Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the Compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America :*

"We, the people of the state of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in convention, on the 23d day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1788, whereby the constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the general assembly of this state ratifying the amendments of the said constitution, are hereby repealed, and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states under the name of the United States of America is hereby dissolved."

The ordinance passed by a unanimous vote of 169 members, at 1½ o'clock.

As the news of it spread through the streets of Charleston, it was greeted with immense cheering, and in the evening, amidst a crowd of over 3,000 people, the instrument was duly signed and sealed. The convention also adopted a declaration of the causes that led to secession. The leading allegations were, the frequent violations of the constitution by the state governments; the nullification of acts of Congress by citizens of those states; the personal liberty laws of some of the Northern states; the triumph of a sectional party at the North; the elevation of colored persons to citizenship in some of the states; and the probability that under the incoming administration the South would be excluded from the common territories, and the judiciary made sectional, thus taking away all hope of remedy for wrong. Governor Pickens, agreeably to the ordinance, issued a proclamation to the effect that South Carolina is a separate, free, sovereign, and independent state. The event being telegraphed to Washington, Messrs. McQueen, Boyd, Bonham and Ashmore, members for South Carolina, withdrew on the same day from Congress.

The letter of resignation of the South Carolina members to the Speaker of the House, was laid on the table, and the speaker directed that their names be retained on the roll, thus not recognizing the act of the state.

Thus was consummated the act of secession, on the part of South Carolina, which nearly thirty years before had attempted to nullify the laws of the Union. The persevering efforts of a few political and religious zealots, North and South, through a period of thirty years, had finally culminated in the attempted ruin of the best government ever devised by man. The ambition and crimes of a comparative few had apparently destroyed the power and welfare of a nation and dashed the hopes of humanity at large.

The process of breaking up the old Union and attempting to construct a new government, was now perseveringly pushed by the Southern leaders, whose intention was to have their new Confederacy in operation, and in a posture of defence, before the advent of Mr. Lincoln to power, on the 4th of March, 1861. The South Carolina convention, which had taken the lead in the matter, and had on the 20th of December passed the ordinance of secession, also adopted resolutions for a convention of the seceded states. These resolutions were as follows:

*"First.* That the conventions of the seceding slave-holding states of the United States unite with South Carolina, and hold a convention at Montgomery, Alabama, for the purpose of forming a Southern Confederacy.

*"Second.* That the said seceding states appoint, by their respective conventions or legislatures, as many delegates as they have representatives in the present Congress of the United States, to the said convention to be held at Montgomery; and that on the adoption of the constitution of the Southern Confederacy, the vote shall be by states.

*"Third.* That whenever the terms of the constitution shall be agreed upon by the said convention, the same shall be submitted at as early a day as practicable to the convention and legislature of each state, respectively, so as to enable them to ratify or reject the said constitution.

*"Fourth.* That in the opinion of South Carolina, the constitution of the United States will form a suitable basis for the Confederacy of the Southern States withdrawing.

*"Fifth.* That the South Carolina convention appoint by ballot eight delegates to represent South Carolina in the convention for the formation of a Southern Confederacy.

“*Lastly*. That one commissioner in each state be elected to call the attention of the people to this ordinance.”

Mr. Calhoun, in the convention, remarked, “We have pulled a temple down that has been built three-quarters of a century; we must clear the rubbish away to reconstruct another. We are now houseless and homeless, and we must secure ourselves against storms.” These expressions which were so impressive, at the time, betray that desolation of feeling under which those men must have labored when they looked back upon the security and glories of that temple which they had so ruthlessly demolished. The traditions of the past, the fame of ancestors, the respect of nations, the glory of the present, almost the hope of the future, lay buried in that mass of rubbish which was now to be cleared away, for the erection of a sort of Chinese pagoda, in place of that stately structure which for eighty years had been swelling in proportions, and whose rising dome was always gilded by the sun of liberty. They, however, threw the past and its attractions behind them, and recklessly pushed into the unknown dim and dangerous future. Commissioners were sent to the other state conventions, which were called to follow the lead of South Carolina. On the 9th of January, the Alabama and Mississippi delegation at Washington, telegraphed to the conventions of their respective states, advising immediate secession, as they considered that there was no prospect of a satisfactory adjustment. A caucus of Southern senators at Washington advocated separate and immediate secession on the 8th of January.

The Mississippi convention organized at Jacksonville, A. J. Barry, of Lowndes, in the chair. It was resolved that a committee of fifteen be appointed by the president, with instructions to prepare and report, as speedily as possible, an ordinance of secession, providing for the immediate withdrawal of Mississippi from the Federal Union, with a view of establishing a new Confederacy, to be composed of the seceding states.

Delegations from South Carolina and Alabama were invited to seats in the convention. They were greeted with applause. Efforts were made to postpone action, which were voted down, and the ordinance passed with 15 nays. These, however, signed on the following day, and the vote was then unanimous.

Fireworks were displayed at the capitol in Jackson in the evening. The excitement was intense.

The ordinance is as follows :

"The people of Mississippi, in convention assembled, do ordain and declare, and it is hereby ordained and declared, as follows, to wit:

"That all the laws and ordinances by which the said state of Mississippi became a member of the Federal Union of the United States of America be, and the same are hereby, repealed; and that all obligations on the part of said state, or the people thereof, to observe the same be withdrawn; and that the said state shall hereby resume the rights, functions, and powers, which by any of said laws and ordinances, were conveyed to the government of the said United States, and is dissolved from all the obligations, restraints, and duties incurred to the said Federal Union, and shall henceforth be a free, sovereign, and independent state."

The passage of this ordinance involved the withdrawal of the Hon. Jefferson Davis from the United States senate, and he did so on the 21st of January, in company with the senators from Alabama and Florida.

The Alabama convention met January 8th, and on the 11th of January passed, by a vote of 61 ayes to 39 nays, the following ordinance of secession :

*"An Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of Alabama, and other States, united under the Compact and Style of the United States of America.*

"Whereas, The election of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin to the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States of America, by a sectional party, avowedly hostile to the domestic institutions, and peace and security of the people of the state of Alabama, following upon the heels of many and dangerous infractions of the constitution of the United States, by many of the states and people of the Northern section, is a political wrong of so insulting and menacing a character, as to justify the people of the state of Alabama in the adoption of prompt and decided measures for their future peace and security.

"Therefore, be it declared and ordained, by the people of the state of Alabama, in convention assembled, that the state of Alabama now



withdraws from the Union, known as the United States of America, and henceforth ceases to be one of the said United States, and is, and of right ought to be, a sovereign independent state.

"SEC. 2. And be it further declared and ordained by the people of the state of Alabama, in convention assembled, that all powers over the territories of said state, and over the people thereof, heretofore delegated to the government of the United States of America, be, and they are hereby, withdrawn from the said government, and are hereby resumed and vested in the people of the state of Alabama.

"And as it is the desire and purpose of the people of Alabama, to meet the slaveholding states of the South who approve of such a purpose, in order to frame a provisional or a permanent government, upon the principles of the government of the United States, be it also resolved by the people of Alabama, in convention assembled, that the people of the states of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, be and they are hereby invited to meet the people of the state of Alabama, by their delegates in convention, on the 4th day of February next, in Montgomery, in the state of Alabama, for the purpose of consultation with each other, as to the most effectual mode of securing concerted, harmonious action in whatever measures may be deemed most desirable for the common peace and security.

"*And be it further resolved*, That the President of this convention be, and he is hereby, instructed to transmit forthwith a copy of the foregoing preamble, ordinance, and resolutions to the governors of the several states named in the said resolutions.

"Done by the people of Alabama, in convention assembled, at Montgomery, this 11th day of January, 1861."

The preamble, ordinance, and resolutions were adopted by ayes, 61; nays, 39. Some of the nays indicated opposition to separation from the North, others to action independent of other states.

The popular vote of Alabama at the Presidential election had numbered 84,636. In choosing delegates for the convention, the question was mainly that of unconditional secession, or of co-operation with other states. The result of the vote was 26,286 for co-operation, and 35,776 for immediate secession. Total, 62,062, or 22,574 less than were cast at the Presidential election. When the ordinance was passed, seven co-operation members voted for it, and the rest expressed themselves in favor of it, although under instructions to vote against it. A committee of fifteen, one to each slave-holding state, was appointed, to further co-operation.

The passage of this ordinance was celebrated in Mobile with the greatest display, by military parade, illuminations, processions and public meetings, amid the most intense popular excitement.

The Florida convention was still more strong than that of Alabama, in its vote for immediate secession, the ordinance having passed, January 12th, by a vote of 62 to 7, as follows :

#### FLORIDA ORDINANCE OF SECESSION.

" *Whereas*, All hope of preserving the Union upon terms consistent with the safety and honor of the slave-holding states, has been finally dissipated by the recent indications of the strength of the anti-slavery sentiment of the free states ; therefore,

" *Be it resolved by the people of Florida, in convention assembled*, That it is undoubtedly the right of the several states of the Union, at such time and for such cause as in the opinion of the people of such state, acting in their sovereign capacity, may be just and proper ; and in the opinion of this convention, the existing causes are such as to compel Florida to proceed to exercise that right.

" We, the people of the state of Florida, in convention assembled, do solemnly ordain, publish, and declare, that the state of Florida hereby withdraws herself from the Confederacy of states existing under the name of the United States of America, and from the existing government of the said states ; and that all political connection between her and the government of said states ought to be, and the same is hereby totally annulled, and said Union of States dissolved ; and the state of Florida is hereby declared a sovereign and independent nation ; and that all ordinances heretofore adopted, in so far as they create or recognize said Union, are rescinded ; and all laws, or parts of laws, in force in this state, in so far as they recognize or assent to said Union, be and they are hereby repealed."

Immediately on the passage of this ordinance, the property of the United States, forts, &c., at Pensacola, were seized by the state authorities, with the exception of Fort Pickens, which was defended by Lieutenant Slemmer.

An act passed by the Florida legislature, defining treason, became a law by the approval and signature of the governor. It declared in the event of any actual collision between the troops of the late Federal Union and those in the employ of the state of Florida, it shall be the duty of the governor of the state to make public proclamation of the fact ; and thereafter the act of holding office under



the Federal Government shall be declared treason, and the person convicted *shall suffer death*.

On the 3d of January, Governor Brown, of Georgia, seized Forts Pulaski and Jackson, at Savannah. The state of New York had, January 4th, passed a resolution tendering to the President the military services of the state, to be used as he might think proper, for the support of the constitution. These resolutions caused much excitement in the South generally, and the Georgia convention passed the following resolution unanimously :

“As a response to the resolutions of the legislature of the state of New York, that this convention highly approves of the energetic and patriotic conduct of the governor of Georgia in taking possession of Fort Pulaski by the Georgia troops; that this convention request him to hold possession of said fort until the relations of Georgia with the Federal government shall be determined, and that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the governor of the state of New York.”

On the 19th of January, the secession ordinance was passed, 208 to 80; the Hon. A. H. Stephens voting against it:

*“An Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of Georgia and other States united with her under the Compact of Government entitled the Constitution of the United States.*

“We, the people of the state of Georgia, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinances adopted by the people of the state of Georgia in convention in 1788, whereby the constitution of the United States was assented to, ratified, and adopted, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly ratifying and adopting amendments to the said constitution, are hereby repealed, rescinded, and abrogated.

“And we do further declare and ordain that the union now subsisting between the state of Georgia and other states, under the name of the United States, is hereby dissolved, and that the state of Georgia is in full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent state.”

The United States arsenal at Augusta, Georgia, was surrendered to the state of Georgia.

The Louisiana state convention took up the question of secession with great enthusiasm, but that body was not

unanimous. A delay ordinance was proposed and voted down by a large majority. The ordinance was passed January 26th, by 113 to 17 votes. A gold pen was given each member with which to sign the ordinance of secession, which is as follows :

*"An Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of Louisiana and the other States united with her, under the Compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America.*

"We, the people of the state of Louisiana, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance passed by the state of 22d November, 1807, whereby the constitution of the United States of America and the amendments of said constitution were adopted, and all the laws and ordinances by which Louisiana became a member of the Federal Union be, and the same are hereby repealed and abrogated, and the union now subsisting between Louisiana and the other states, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved.

"We further declare and ordain, that the state of Louisiana hereby resumes the rights and powers heretofore delegated to the government of the United States of America, and its citizens are absolved from allegiance to the said government, and she is in full possession of all the rights and sovereignty that appertain to a free and independent state.

"We further declare and ordain, that all rights acquired and vested under the Constitution of the United States, or any act of Congress, or treaty, or under laws of this state, not incompatible with this ordinance, shall remain in force, and have the same effect as though this ordinance had not passed."

A resolution was reported to the convention that the following be added to the ordinance :

"We, the people of Louisiana, recognize the right of free navigation of the Mississippi river and tributaries by all friendly states bordering thereon ; we also recognize the right of the ingress and egress of the mouths of the Mississippi by all friendly states and powers, and hereby declare our willingness to enter into stipulations to guarantee the exercise of those rights."

The popular vote in Louisiana was 20,448 for secession, 17,296 for co-operation.

The convention of the state of Texas passed an ordinance February 1st, to be voted on February 23d, by the people, and if adopted by them, to take effect March 1st. The vote at the election was 41,600 ayes, and 12,172 nays. The ordinance was as follows :

*"An Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of Texas and the other States under the Compact styled the Constitution of the United States of America.*

"SEC. 1. Whereas, the Federal government has failed to accomplish the purposes of the compact of union between these states, in giving protection either to the persons of our people upon an exposed frontier, or to the property of our citizens; and whereas, the action of the Northern states is violative of the compact between the states and the guarantees of the constitution; and, whereas, the recent developments in Federal affairs make it evident that the power of the Federal government is sought to be made a weapon with which to strike down the interests and property of the people of Texas, and 'her sister slave-holding states, instead of permitting it to be, as was intended, '—our shield against outrage and aggression—therefore, We, the people of the state of Texas, by delegates in convention assembled, do declare and ordain that the ordinance adopted by our convention of delegates on the fourth (4th) day of July, A. D. 1845, and afterward ratified by us, under which the Republic of Texas was admitted into the Union with other states, and became a party to the compact styled 'The Constitution of the United States of America' be, and is hereby repealed and annulled.

"That all the powers which, by the said compact, were delegated by Texas to the Federal government are resumed. That Texas is of right absolved from all restraints and obligations incurred by said compact, and is a separate sovereign state, and that her citizens and people are absolved from all allegiance to the United States, or the government thereof.

"SEC. 2. The ordinance shall be submitted to the people of Texas for their ratification or rejection, by the qualified voters, on the 23d day of February, 1861; and unless rejected by a majority of the votes cast, shall take effect and be in force on and after the 2d day of March, A. D. 1861. Provided that in the representative district of El Paso said election may be held on the 18th day of February, 1861.

"Done by the people of the state of Texas, in convention assembled, at Austin, the 1st day of February, A. D. 1861."

After the passage of the ordinance, the convention pronounced that the state had joined the Southern Confederacy, and it appointed delegates to the Montgomery Congress. It also passed an ordinance requiring all state officers to take the oath of allegiance to support the new government, and appointing a day for the governor and other principal officers to appear for that purpose before the convention. The venerable Governor Houston, who had so long led the destinies of Texas, attempted to stem the current. He issued an address protesting against the entire action of the convention, and refused to take the

oath. His life-long popularity seemed now to desert him. The legislature framed a resolution approving of the convention, and deposing the governor if he refused the oath. The United States property in the state was seized by the authorities. On the 10th of May, General Houston made a speech in which he said that having opposed secession earnestly, he had, now that the Federal government adopted armed coercion, no recourse but to stand by his state in resistance to subjugation. In such a juncture a man's section was his country.

That the cotton states should with almost common consent follow the lead of South Carolina, was regarded almost as a matter of course; but even that was not accomplished without some dissent to the dictation of South Carolina. The interests of the border states were, however, not so identical, and the line of policy they might pursue not so well defined; in one respect, however, they seemed to be agreed, viz.: that they would not countenance armed coercion of the South, and their relations with the North seemed to hang upon the question of coercion or conciliation. The most influential of them was Virginia. The leaders in the state seemed earnestly bent upon preserving the Union, and had early in January sent invitations to all the states to meet in convention, in order to devise means of compromise. The state convention was many weeks in session, and in March passed resolutions expressing earnest desire for the re-establishment of the Union in its former integrity. Commissioners were appointed to wait on the President and ascertain the policy that he intended to pursue. An amendment denying the right of the Federal government to deal with the question of secession was rejected. A resolution was adopted expressing a willingness that the independence of the seceding states should be acknowledged. These and other resolutions expressive of a desire for conciliation were passed. When, however, the commissioners were not satisfactorily received at Washington and the President issued his call for troops,

the tone of the convention changed ; it immediately went into secret session and passed the following ordinance.

*"An Ordinance to repeal the Ratification of the Constitution of the United States of America by the State of Virginia, and to resume all the Rights and Powers granted under said Constitution.*

"The people of Virginia, in their ratification of the constitution of the United States of America, adopted by them in convention on the twenty-fifth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, having declared that the powers granted under the said constitution were derived from the people of the United States, and might be resumed whensoever the same should be perverted to their injury and oppression, and the Federal government having perverted said powers, not only to the injury of the people of Virginia, but to the oppression of the Southern slave-holding states ;

"Now, therefore, we, the people of Virginia, do declare and ordain that the ordinance adopted by the people of this state in convention, on the twenty-fifth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and all acts of the General Assembly of this state, ratifying or adopting amendments to said constitution, are hereby repealed and abrogated, that the union between the state of Virginia and the other states under the constitution aforesaid is hereby dissolved, and that the state of Virginia is in the full possession and exercise of all the rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent state. And they do further declare that the said constitution of the United States of America is no longer binding on any of the citizens of this state.

"This ordinance shall take effect and be an act of this day when ratified by a majority of the votes of the people of this state, cast at a poll to be taken thereon on the fourth Thursday in May next, in pursuance of a schedule to be hereafter enacted.

"Done in convention, in the city of Richmond, on the 17th day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and in the eighty-fifth year of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

"JOHN L. EUBANK,

*"Secretary of Convention."*

*"An Ordinance for the Adoption of the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America.*

"We, the delegates of the people of Virginia, in convention assembled, solemnly impressed by the perils which surround the commonwealth, and appealing to the searcher of hearts for the rectitude of our intentions in assuming the grave responsibility of this act, do, by this ordinance, adopt and ratify the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, ordained and established at Montgomery, Alabama, on the eighth day of February, eighteen hundred and sixty-one ; provided that this ordinance shall cease to have any legal operation or effect, if the people of this commonwealth, upon the vote directed to be taken on the ordinance of secession passed

by this convention, on the 17th day of April, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, shall reject the same.

*"A true copy,*

*"JOHN L. EUBANK, Secretary."*

*"Convention between the Commonwealth of Virginia and the Confederate States of America."*

"The commonwealth of Virginia, looking to a speedy union of said commonwealth and the other slave states with the Confederate States of America, according to the provisions of the constitution for the provisional government of said states, enters into the following temporary convention and agreement with said states, for the purpose of meeting pressing exigencies affecting the common rights, interests and safety of said commonwealth and said Confederacy.

"1. Until the union of said commonwealth with said Confederacy shall be perfected, and said commonwealth shall become a member of said Confederacy, according to the constitution of both powers, the whole military force and military operations, offensive and defensive, of said commonwealth, in the impending conflict with the United States, shall be under the chief control and direction of the President of said Confederate States, upon the same principles, basis and footing as if said commonwealth were now, and during the interval, a member of said Confederacy.

"2. The commonwealth of Virginia will, after the consummation of the union contemplated in this convention, and her adoption of the constitution for a permanent government of the said Confederate States, and she shall become a member of said Confederacy under said permanent constitution, if the same occur, turn over to the said Confederate States all the public property, naval stores, and munitions of war, &c., she may then be in possession of, acquired from the United States, on the same terms and in like manner as the other states of said Confederacy have done in like cases.

"3. Whatever expenditures of money, if any, said commonwealth of Virginia shall make before the union, under the provisional government as above contemplated, shall be consummated, shall be met and provided for by said Confederate States.

"This convention entered into and agreed to, in the city of Richmond, Virginia, on the twenty-fourth day of April, 1861, by Alexander H. Stephens, the duly authorized commissioner to act in the matter for the said Confederate States, and John Tyler, William Ballard Preston, Samuel McD. Moore, James P. Holcombe, James C. Bruce, and Lewis E. Harvie, parties duly authorized to act in like manner for said commonwealth of Virginia—the whole subject to the approval and ratification of the proper authorities of both governments respectively.

"In testimony whereof the parties aforesaid have hereto set their hands and seals, the day and year aforesaid, and at the place aforesaid, in duplicate originals.

*"ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS,  
Commissioner for Confederate States."*

*"JOHN TYLER,*

*"JAMES P. HOLCOMBE,*

*"WILLIAM BALLARD PRESTON,*

*"JAMES C. BRUCE,*

*"S. McD. MOORE,*

*"LEWIS B. HARVIE,*

*Commissioners for Virginia."*



"Approved and ratified by the convention of Virginia, on the 25th of April, 1861.

"JOHN JANNEY, *President*.

"JOHN L. EUBANK, *Secretary*."

The passage of the ordinance was at once telegraphed to the South, and Mr. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States, at once set out for Virginia and formed the convention between that state and the Confederacy.

In the state of Arkansas the convention met on the 13th of March, and an ordinance of secession was, after elaborate discussion, rejected by a vote of 39 to 35. On the 18th of April was passed an act submitting the question of secession to the people on the 3d of August. The effect of the President's call for troops was the same as elsewhere in the South. When it was received, April 22d, the authorities seized the property of the Federal government in the state; the convention immediately reassembled, and on the 6th of May passed the ordinance unanimously.

"*An Ordinance to dissolve the Union now existing between the State of Arkansas and the other States united with her under the Compact entitled 'The Constitution of the United States of America.'*"

"Whereas, In addition to the well-founded cause of complaint set forth by this convention in resolutions adopted on the 11th March, A. D. 1861, against the sectional party now in power at Washington City, headed by Abraham Lincoln, he has, in the face of the resolutions passed by this convention, pledging the state of Arkansas to resist to the last extremity any attempt on the part of such power to coerce any state that seceded from the old Union, proclaimed to the world that war should be waged against such states, until they should be compelled to submit to their rule, and large forces to accomplish this have by this same power been called out, and are now being marshalled to carry out this inhuman design, and longer to submit to such rule or remain in the old Union of the United States would be disgraceful and ruinous to the state of Arkansas:

"Therefore, we, the people of the state of Arkansas, in convention assembled, do hereby declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the 'ordinance and acceptance of compact,' passed and approved by the General Assembly of the state of Arkansas on the 18th day of October, A. D. 1836, whereby it was by said General Assembly ordained that, by virtue of the authority vested in said General Assembly, by the provisions of the ordinance adopted by the convention of delegates assembled at Little Rock, for the purpose of forming a constitution and system of government for said state, the propositions set forth in 'an act supplementary to an act entitled an act for the admission of the state of Arkansas into the Union, and to provide

for the due execution of the laws of the United States within the same, and for other purposes, were freely accepted, ratified, and irrevocably confirmed articles of compact and union between the state of Arkansas and the United States, and all other laws, and every other law and ordinance, whereby the state of Arkansas became a member of the Federal Union, be, and the same are hereby, in all respects, and for every purpose herewith consistent, repealed, abrogated, and fully set aside; and the union now subsisting between the state of Arkansas and the other states under the name of the United States of America, is hereby forever dissolved.

"And we do further hereby declare and ordain that the state of Arkansas hereby resumes to herself all rights and powers heretofore delegated to the government of the United States of America—that her citizens are absolved from all allegiance to said government of the United States, and that she is in full possession and exercise of all the rights and sovereignty which appertain to a free and independent state.

"We do further ordain and declare that all rights acquired and vested under the constitution of the United States of America, or of any act or acts of Congress, or treaty, or under any law of this state, and not incompatible with this ordinance, shall remain in full force and effect, in nowise altered or impaired, and have the same effect as if this ordinance had not been passed.

"Adopted and passed in open convention on the 6th day of May, Anno Domini 1861.

"ELIAS C. BOUDINOT,

*"Secretary of the Arkansas State Convention."*

The disposition of North Carolina was very friendly to the Union. The legislature, December 20th, gave audience to Messrs. Smith & Garrett, commissioners from Alabama. The commissioners declared that their state would go out of the Union, and that nothing would save the formation of a confederacy, but an explicit assurance from the North, that the fugitive slave law should be enforced. It was a remarkable fact, that there was present, at this convention, the Hon. Jacob Thompson, a member of the Federal cabinet, as secretary of the interior, in quality of a commissioner from Mississippi, to urge co-operation in favor of the proposed confederacy. This fact happening at a time when a large amount of bonds had been abstracted from his department, produced a strange influence in North Carolina, and not favorable to the Southern cause.

When the Confederate Congress met, February 4th, North Carolina was invited to send delegates to aid in



forming the confederacy. She replied, that as one of the Federal states, she had no right to do so ; but she appointed and sent commissioners for the purpose of attempting to bring about an arrangement on the basis of the Crittenden resolutions as modified by the Virginia legislature. These commissioners were invited to occupy seats.

The North Carolina legislature then passed unanimously a resolution, that if reconciliation failed, North Carolina goes with the other slave states. Such had been the views of the " Old North State ;" but on the receipt of the President's call for troops, the convention immediately convened for the 1st day of May. It passed the ordinance, by a unanimous vote, after a proposition to submit the matter to the people had been defeated by 73 to 34.

" We, the people of the state of North Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by the state of North Carolina, in the convention of 1789, whereby the constitution of the United States was ratified and adopted, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly, ratifying and adopting amendments to the said constitution, are hereby repealed, rescinded, and abrogated.

" We do further declare and ordain that the union now subsisting between the state of North Carolina and the other states, under the title of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved, and that the state of North Carolina is in the full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent state.

" Done at Raleigh, 20th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1861."

The following ordinance was also passed :

" We, the people of North Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the state of North Carolina does hereby assent to and ratify the ' Constitution for the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America,' adopted at Montgomery, in the state of Alabama, on the 8th of February, 1861, by the convention of delegates from the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and that North Carolina will enter into the federal association of states upon the terms therein proposed, when admitted by the Congress or any competent authority of the Confederate States.

" Done at Raleigh, 20th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1861."

The state of Tennessee passed no act of secession, but on May 21st passed an act of independence, to be submitted to the people June 8th. Meantime a military league was made

with the Confederate States, in virtue of which the forces of Tennessee were to act in aid of the Confederates.

The state of Kentucky passed no acts of secession, but adopted a neutral policy. On the 20th of May Governor Magoffin issued a proclamation, solemnly forbidding any movement of troops upon Kentucky soil. On the receipt of the President's requisition, the governor issued a proclamation calling the legislature together to place the state in a defensive position.

Early in December, by a resolution of the legislature of Mississippi, a commissioner had been appointed to Maryland to ask her co-operation in the formation of a new government. Governor Hicks replied that "when he was convinced that the power of the Federal government was to be perverted for the destruction, instead of being used for the protection of their rights, then, and not till then, could he consent so to exercise any power with which he was invested, as to afford even the opportunity for such a proceeding." The Maryland legislature passed the following preamble and resolutions, May 10th, 1861:

"*Whereas*, The war against the Confederate States is unconstitutional and repugnant to civilization, and will result in a bloody and shameful overthrow of our institutions; and whilst recognizing the obligations of Maryland to the Union, we sympathize with the South in the struggle for their rights—for the sake of humanity, we are for peace and reconciliation, and solemnly protest against this war, and will take no part in it:

"*Resolved*, That Maryland implores the President, in the name of God, to cease this unholy war, at least until Congress assembles; that Maryland desires and consents to the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States. The military occupation of Maryland is unconstitutional, and she protests against it, though the violent interference with the transit of Federal troops is discountenanced; that the vindication of her rights be left to time and reason, and that a convention, under existing circumstances, is inexpedient."

We have here given the acts of secession of the several slave states, in succession, before giving an account of the convention which met at Montgomery, to form the Confederate government of seven cotton states, in order that all the acts of separation should be brought together.

The border states, it will be observed, did not secede until after the Confederacy was formed, and only when, all efforts at reconciliation having failed, the new administration adopted what they considered coercive policy.

On the 4th of February, the Confederate Congress, composed of delegates from seven seceding states, met at Montgomery, Alabama. On the same day, a convention, composed of commissioners from twenty states, appointed at the instance and solicitation of the legislature of Virginia, met in Washington, District of Columbia, to endeavor to devise some plan of retaining the border states in the Union, and winning back those which had already seceded. The purpose was a praiseworthy one, but it was soon evident that the task they had undertaken was impracticable. The resolutions of compromise, which they finally passed by a bare majority, composed almost entirely of members from the border states, failed to satisfy either party in the controversy; the Northern states felt that they were asked to yield what they ought not, and the seceded states were unwilling to come back whatever was offered them.

On the meeting of the delegates to the Southern convention, Howell Cobb, Esq., late secretary of the treasury for the United States, was elected chairman. In his address, he said that they had met as the representatives of sovereign and independent states, who had dissolved all political connection with the government of the United States. The separation was complete and perpetual, and their duty was now to provide for future security and protection.

The following were the

DELEGATES TO THE MONTGOMERY CONVENTION, ALABAMA,  
FEBRUARY 4TH.

ALABAMA.—Robert H. Smith, Colin J. McRae, W. R. Chilton, David P. Lewis, Richard W. Walker, John Gill, S. F. Hale, Thomas Fearn, J. L. M. Curry.

FLORIDA.—Jackson Morton, J. Patton Anderson, James Powers.

GEORGIA.—Robert Toombs, Francis Barton, Martin Crawford, Judge Nesbitt, Benjamin Hill, Howell Cobb, Augustus R. Wright, Thomas R. R. Cobb, Augustus Keenan, A. H. Stephens.

LOUISIANA.—John Perkins, Jr., C. M. Conrad, Duncan F. Kenner, A. Declomet, E. Sparrow, Henry Marshall.

MISSISSIPPI.—Wiley P. Harris, W. S. Wilson, A. M. Clayton, Walker Brooke, W. S. Barry, J. T. Harrison, J. A. P. Campbell.

NORTH CAROLINA.—J. L. Bridgers, M. W. Ransom, Ex-Governor Swann.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—T. J. Withers, R. B. Rhett, Jr., L. M. Keitt, W. W. Boyce, James Chestnut, Jr., R. W. Barnwell, G. G. Memminger.

After some discussion the convention adopted the old constitution of the United States, with the exception of the following clauses :

*"Constitution for the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America."*

The preamble reads as follows :

"We, the deputies of the sovereign and independent states of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, invoking the favor of Almighty God, do hereby, in behalf of these states, ordain and establish this constitution for the provisional government of the same, to continue one year from the inauguration of the President, or until a permanent constitution or confederation between the said states shall be put in operation, whichever shall first occur."

The seventh section, first article, is as follows :

"The importation of African negroes from any foreign country other than the slave-holding states of the United States, is hereby forbidden, and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same.

"Article second. Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any state not a member of this confederacy."

Article fourth of the third clause of the second section, says :

"A slave in one state escaping to another shall be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom said slave may belong, by the executive authority of the state in which such slave may be found ; and in case of any abduction or forcible rescue, full compensation, including the value of the slave, and all costs and expenses, shall be made to the party by the state in which such abduction or rescue shall take place."

Article sixth of the second clause, says :

"The government hereby instituted shall take immediate steps for the settlement of all matters between the states forming it, and their late confederates of the United States, in relation to the public property and public debt at the time of their withdrawal from them, these states hereby declaring it to be their wish and earnest desire to adjust every thing pertaining to the common property, common liabilities, and common obligations of that union, upon principles of right, justice, equity, and good faith."

The tariff clause provides that:

"The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises for revenue necessary to pay the debts and carry on the government of the Confederacy, and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the Confederacy."

This was adopted on February 8th. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was elected President, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President, by unanimous votes.

The inauguration of Mr. Davis took place February 18th. In his inaugural address, he stated that the change of the government illustrates the American idea of the consent of the governed, and he defined the prospects and policy of the new confederation.

The President of the Southern Confederacy nominated the following members of his cabinet: *Secretary of State*—Mr. Toombs; *Secretary of the Treasury*—Mr. Memminger; *Secretary of War*—Mr. L. Pope Walker. They were confirmed.

The remaining important measures adopted by the Southern Congress, were an act taking under charge of the confederation all questions with the United States in relation to public property; acts continuing in force all laws of the United States, not inconsistent with the new constitution, and continuing in office all incumbents with the same duties and salaries; an act levying duties on goods coming from the United States, unless shipped before March 28th; and authorizing a loan of \$15,000,000, secured by an export duty on cotton.

On the 11th of March a permanent constitution was unanimously adopted. It was nearly the same as that of the United States. The preamble reads, "We, the people

of the Confederate States, each state acting in its sovereign and independent character," &c., and when this constitution is ratified by five states it is to go into permanent operation.

The first measures of the Confederate Congress were evidently intended to exhibit to the world, moderation, and a disposition to conciliate. The renewed condemnation of the slave-trade was first solemnly and almost unanimously conceded, no doubt to set themselves morally right before the world. The next important measure was evidently for the benefit of the Western states ; it declared the navigation of the Mississippi free to any state on its borders, or the borders of its navigable tributaries. This enactment was a necessity even in the event of success attending the Southern movement. It is impossible to imagine that the Western states would ever permit their chief outlet to the ocean to be closed by the tourniquet of a foreign custom-house. Even in Europe, the Danube, which passes through the territories of various and hostile races, has been made free. The people living on the head-waters of the Mississippi, on the Ohio, the Missouri, and even the Arkansas, would be most indignant if any attempt were made to interfere with the traffic between the Gulf and the heart of the American continent. Hence the Confederate States enacted that all ships and boats which may enter the waters of the Mississippi, within the limits of the Confederacy, from any port or place beyond the said limits, may freely pass with their cargoes to any other place beyond the said limits, without let or hinderance, on paying pilotage and other charges. Regulations were made to prevent the disposing of any part of the cargoes without payment of the customs due to the Confederate States. This the Southerners probably thought was all that the Western people could desire, or, at least, justly claim.

Having thus extended one hand, as they supposed, to the Western navigation, they extended the other to Great Britain, by modifying the navigation laws. The act, which



was ready for the President's assent on the 26th of February, was "to modify the navigation laws, and to repeal all discriminating duties on ships and vessels;" and enacts that "all laws which forbid the employment in the coasting-trade of ships or vessels not enrolled or licensed, and also all laws which forbid the importation of goods, wares, or merchandise from one port of the Confederate States to another, or from any foreign port or place in a vessel belonging wholly or in part to a subject or citizen of any foreign state or power, are hereby repealed." Discriminating duties on foreign ships are also repealed. Thus, the coasting-trade from Charleston to Galveston was now thrown open to the British flag. This was certainly a tempting bait to Great Britain, which had so long sought from the Federal government to be admitted to the coasting-trade in return for the right to trade between her colonies. As the South owns no shipping, but supplies an immense freight annually in cotton, rice, and tobacco, it was to offer her carrying-trade to Great Britain.

The act for the suppression of the slave-trade, is in the usual terms, but contains a provision for dealing with the negroes found on board the captured vessels, which is somewhat amusing. If the vessel is cleared from any port in the United States, the President shall communicate with the governor of that state, and "shall offer to deliver such negroes to the said state on receiving a guarantee that the said negroes shall enjoy the rights and privileges of freemen in such state, or in any other state of the United States, or that they shall be transported to Africa, and there set at liberty, without expense to the government." The notion of the Confederate States bargaining with Massachusetts or Pennsylvania that a negro shall "have all the rights and privileges of a freeman," might imply a doubt as to the sincerity of their professions in behalf of the negro. In default of the foreign state accepting this offer; the President shall receive any propositions made for the transport



of the negroes to Africa by private persons, and, should no such philanthropist offer himself, "the President shall cause the said negroes to be sold at public auction to the highest bidder." This, it must be confessed, is a descent from the lofty morality of the earlier part of the clause. All these acts were passed with great unanimity.

On the 6th of February, an act placing at the disposition of Congress, \$500,000, for the placing of the seceded states in a better condition of defence, was passed by the legislature of Alabama. This offer was accepted by the Confederate Congress.

On the 9th of February, a committee of one from each state was appointed, to report upon a flag. A large military force was organized. The government assumed, February 12th, charge of the questions pending between the several states of the Confederacy and the government of the United States, relating to the occupation of forts, arsenals, dockyards, and other public establishments, and directed that act to be communicated to the several states; and again, on the 15th of March, 1861, the Congress recommended the respective states to cede the forts, arsenals, dockyards, and other public establishments within their respective limits, to the Confederate States; and, in case of such cession, authorized and empowered the President to take charge of the said property. It was also provided by act of 28th of February, 1861, that the President be directed to assume control of all military operations of the Confederate States; and he was authorized to receive the arms acquired from the United States and then in the forts, arsenals, and navy-yards of said states, and all other arms and munitions which they might desire to turn over and make chargeable to the Confederate government.

On the 9th of March, the Confederate Congress passed an act for the organization of the army, to be composed of one corps of engineers, one corps of artillery, one regiment of cavalry, and six regiments of infantry, to number 10,737 officers and men.

## CHAPTER III.

Meeting of Congress.—President's Message.—His Suggestions.—Resignation of Howell Cobb.—Mr. Thomas appointed.—Resignation of Lewis Cass.—Mr. Black appointed.—Mr. Stanton, Attorney-General.—John B. Floyd resigned.—Mr. Hall, *ad interim*.—Horatio King, Postmaster-General.—Star of the West.—Resignation of Mr. Thomas.—Resignation of Mr. Thompson.—John A. Dix, Secretary of the Treasury.—Rumors of Defalcations.—Special Message of the President.—New York Resolution.—Massachusetts.—Committee of Thirty-three.—Crittenden Resolutions.—Border States Plan.—Popular Meetings.—Memorials for Compromise.—Delegations.—Virginia Resolutions.—Peace Convention.—Plan of.—Personal Liberty Bills.—Force Bill.—Close of Congress.—Laws passed.—New Territories.—Finance.—Tariff.—Constitution.—Amendment.—Vote.—Adjournment.—Public Attention fixed on New Administration.—Mr. Lincoln leaves Home.—Route.—Speeches.—Progress.—Rumors.—Change of Plan.—Arrival at Washington.—Cabinet.—Inaugural; its Effects.—Senate.—Spring Elections.—Decision of the Administration.—Southern Commissioners.—Supplies for Fort Sumter.—Commissioners leave Washington.—Virginia Commissioners also leave.—Military Expenditure.—Policy of the Government.—Strength of the Army.—Preparations.—Seizures by the South.—Charleston Harbor.—Major Anderson occupies Sumter.—Commotion in Charleston.—Resignation of Floyd.—Frigate Brooklyn.—Star of the West.—Events at the South.—General Twiggs.—Beauregard in Charleston.—Expedition for Charleston.—Garrison of Sumter.—Enemy's Batteries.—The Attack.—The Bombardment.—Valor of the men.—Negotiation.—Surrender.—Soldiers in the Capital.—Oath of Allegiance.—The Progress of the Fleet.—Fort Pickens reinforced.

WHILE preparations for conventions of the Southern states were on foot, made with the view of bringing about disunion, the Congress of the United States met at the usual time in Washington, December 3d. The South Carolina representatives were present, but the senators having resigned November 11th, were absent. The other Southern representations were generally full.

The message of the President was largely occupied with a discussion of the state of the country. In it he held the

ground that the long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with Southern interests, had at length produced its natural effects in sectional discord. The true cause of the Southern disquiet, he alleged, was neither the personal liberty bills of the Northern states, nor the claim to exclude slavery from the national territory, but the peril arose from the fact that continual agitation was inspiring the slaves with the hope of freedom, and thus daily undermining the security of the Southern people. The apprehensions from this cause, he alleged, would make disunion inevitable. The President stated that, with the possible exception of the Missouri Compromise, no act had ever passed Congress impairing in the slightest degree the rights of the South to their property in slaves; no act had passed, or was likely to pass Congress, excluding slavery from the territories; that the Supreme Court had decided that slaves are property, and that the owners have a right to take them into the territories under the protection of the constitution. That no territorial legislature possesses the power to exclude slavery from the territories. The power belongs nowhere except to the whole people when forming a state constitution. That neither Congress nor the President are responsible for the state personal liberty laws, which, he said, have all been declared unconstitutional and void, by all courts before whom the question has been brought, with the exception of a single state court in Wisconsin, and there the decision had been reversed before the proper tribunal. He argued strongly against the right of secession, declaring it to be simply revolution. He then summed up the powers of the executive under the constitution, and the laws of 1795 and 1807, "but these," said he, "do not apply in a state where there are no Federal officers through whose agency the laws can be executed. The property of the United States in Charleston had with the consent of the state, been purchased by the Federal government, and Congress has the exclusive power to legislate therein, hence

there were no obstacles to the collection of the duties in Charleston."

"It is not believed," said the President, "that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from the property. The officer in charge has orders to act on the defensive, and if he should be assailed, the responsibility would rest rightfully on the heads of the assailants."

The President, in relation to the power of coercing a state that attempts to withdraw from the confederacy, held that the power to do so "was expressly refused by the convention which framed the constitution." The President advised an explanatory amendment of the constitution on the subject of slavery.

On December 10th, the secretary of the treasury, Howell Cobb, of Georgia, resigned. In his letter of resignation he states, that he agrees with the President in the policy and measures of the administration, although he differed from some of the theoretical doctrines expressed in the message, as well as from the hope expressed in it, that the Union could yet be preserved. Mr. Thomas, of Maryland, was appointed to succeed Mr. Cobb as secretary of the treasury. The resignation of Mr. Cobb was followed by that of the Hon. Lewis Cass, of the state department, on the ground that the President had refused to reinforce the garrison at Fort Moultrie. He was succeeded by Attorney-General Black, and Mr. Stanton, of Pennsylvania, succeeded Mr. Black as attorney-general. While General Cass resigned because the President would not strengthen Major Anderson's command, John B. Floyd, secretary of war, resigned on the ground that, while he had ordered Major Anderson, if attacked, to defend himself to the last extremity, he had, with the assent of the President, assured the authorities of South Carolina that, pending the adoption of some decided line of policy, there should be no change in the position of forces in Charleston harbor. That the change from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter was a violation of that pledge, and on the refusal

of the President to redeem it, by withdrawing the troops, he could not remain. His resignation was at once accepted, and Mr. Holt, postmaster-general, appointed to the war department *ad interim*. Mr. Horatio King was appointed postmaster-general.

The position of Major Anderson at Fort Sumter, was not much improved from what it had been at Fort Moultrie. He was safe from immediate attack, but his supplies were becoming exhausted, and it was necessary to succor him. An attempt was made to extort a pledge from the President that no reinforcements should be sent; but no such pledge was given, and the Star of the West left New York, January 5th, with supplies and two hundred and fifty men, to be thrown into the fort. In consequence of this, Mr. Thompson resigned as secretary of the interior, January 8th. On the 11th, Mr. Thomas, who had succeeded Mr. Cobb in the treasury department, also resigned for a similar reason. General John A. Dix was appointed in his place.

At this juncture, the country was startled with accounts of immense frauds in the war department. It appeared that there had been outstanding large contracts with Russell, Majors & Co., to convey army supplies across the plains to Utah, during the Mormon war. The capital required to conduct these was very great, and it had been customary for the contractors to give drafts on the government at three and four months. These were officially accepted by Mr. Floyd, the amount to be charged at maturity upon the sum then due the contractors.

In consequence of the growing commercial difficulties Russell & Co. found it no longer possible to raise money on the drafts. Under these circumstances, Mr. Russell induced Godard Bailey, a clerk in the department of the interior, to abstract from the department, \$871,000 of stocks belonging to the Indian fund, and loan them to him, for the purpose of raising money to meet his contracts. The discovery of these facts produced immense excitement. There is no doubt but that this incident had

a powerful influence upon the course of events. The policy of the President seemed to be in some degree strengthened by the changes that had taken place in the cabinet. The immediate difficulty was the position of Major Anderson at Charleston, and the departure of the *Star of the West* from New York, January 5th, with men and stores for that point, under a clearance for Havana, had given the President renewed confidence. On the 8th of January, therefore, the day on which the *Star of the West* should have succeeded in her mission, the President sent to Congress a special message upon the state of the country, stating strongly his opinion previously expressed, in opposition to the right of secession, and reiterating his views in relation to his own duty and that of Congress. He suggested that the questions at issue be "removed from political assemblies to the ballot-box, and the people themselves would speedily redress the serious grievances that the South have suffered." He intimated that the proposition to let the North have exclusive control above a certain geographical line, and to protect Southern institutions below that line, ought to receive universal approbation.

In this message, the President reasserted the sentiment that "the Union must, and shall be preserved," declaring his purpose to use the military power against all who resisted the Federal authority.

If this energetic announcement had been accompanied, as no doubt was intended, by the news of a successful reinforcement of Fort Sumter, it might have produced a salutary effect, and perhaps have changed the course of events. Unfortunately, the news came of the failure of the attempt, and of an insult to the flag. That event caused much alarm, and aroused dormant fears of the actual approach of war. Such of the legislatures as were in session—and all were so, except those of New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Illinois, and Indiana, some of which meet only once in two years, and the others either in spring or autumn—received the mes-



sage of the President with favor, and tendered prompt assistance in support of the government. In the legislature of New York were passed the following resolutions :

" *Whereas*, The insurgent state of South Carolina, after seizing the post-offices, custom-house, moneys, and fortifications of the Federal government, has, by firing into a vessel ordered by the government to convey troops and provisions to Fort Sumter, virtually declared war; and whereas the forts and property of the United States government in Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana, have been unlawfully seized, with hostile intentions; and whereas their senators in Congress avow and maintain their treasonable acts, Therefore—

" *Resolved*, That the legislature of New York is profoundly impressed with the value of the Union, and determined to preserve it unimpaired; that it greets with joy the recent firm, dignified, and patriotic special message of the President of the United States, and that we tender to him, through the chief magistrate of our own state, whatever aid in men and money may be required to enable him to enforce the laws and uphold the authority of the Federal government; and that, in the defence of the Union, which has conferred prosperity and happiness upon the American people, renewing the pledge given and redeemed by our fathers, we are ready to devote our fortunes, our lives, and our sacred honor."

These resolutions were ordered to be communicated to the governor of each state, and the following dispatch was sent to the President :

"ALBANY, Jan. 11th, 1861.

" *To His Excellency, James Buchanan, President of the United States, Washington City :*

"SIR—In obedience to the request of the legislature of the state, I transmit herewith a copy of the concurrent resolutions of that body adopted this day, tendering the aid of the state to the President of the United States, to enable him to enforce the laws and to uphold the authority of the Federal government.

"I have the honor to be your Excellency's obedient servant,

"EDWIN D. MORGAN."

The action of other states was similar; and it is illustrative of the extent to which zeal outran ability—when we now regard the military resources which then existed by the light of the gigantic operations that have since been developed. When New York passed that resolution, she had not military resources to equip 13,000 men. Massachusetts had been more actively zealous. She had early in December tendered her volunteers to the government, and she had 5,000 men in drill; but o



these only 3,000 were armed with Springfield muskets. When the call at a later date actually came for troops, both New York and Massachusetts were obliged to send agents to Europe to purchase arms.

The views of the President, as expressed in his annual message, were received with various manifestations of dissent or approval, according to the political bias or the light of partisan zeal in which they were viewed. The importance of some mode of adjustment impressed itself upon Congress, and on the 10th of December, the day on which Mr. Cobb resigned from the treasury department, there was appointed a committee of thirty-three, or one from each state, and also a Senate committee of thirteen, on the state of the Union. A variety of propositions were submitted to this committee without uniting a majority. The plan of Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, met with most favor. It practically re-established the Missouri Compromise, declared that Congress shall not interfere with slavery where it exists, and provided for the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law. This did not, however, quite meet the extreme views of either side. The Republicans were willing to recommend an amendment to the constitution declaring that Congress shall have no power to interfere with slavery in the states, but refused the demand of the Southerners, that slave property should be recognized in the territories under the decisions of the Supreme Court. The Southerners contended that an amendment to the constitution, declaring that the Federal government had no right to interfere with slavery, was only declaring what was nowhere disputed. Everybody admitted that Congress had no such power. The judiciary of the United States had, however, declared that, under the constitution, the South had a right to the protection of the Federal government for their slave property in the territories. They wanted assent to that decision. This the Republicans were not prepared to give.

In Congress many propositions were offered, and on the

3d of January, Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, offered a new plan of adjustment in the form of amendments to the constitution, which were as follows :

"*First.* In all territories north of 36 deg. 30 min. slavery is prohibited ; in all territory south of that latitude, slavery is recognized as existing, and shall be protected as property during its continuance. All the territory north or south of said line, shall be admitted into the Union, with or without slavery, as the constitution of the state shall prescribe.

"*Second.* Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in the states permitting slavery.

"*Third.* Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia while it exists in Virginia and Maryland, or either.

"*Fourth.* Congress to have no power to hinder the transportation of slaves from one state to another.

"*Fifth.* Congress to have power to pay for a slave when the marshal is prevented from discharging his duty, the owner to sue the county in which the rescue was made, and the county have the right to sue the individuals who committed the wrong.

"*Sixth.* No further amendment or amendments shall affect the preceding articles, and Congress shall never have power to interfere with slavery in the states where it is now permitted.

The last resolution declares that "the Southern states have a right to the faithful execution of the law for the recovery of slaves ; and such laws ought not to be repealed or modified so as to impair their efficiency. All laws in conflict with the fugitive slave law, it shall not be deemed improper for Congress to ask the repeal of. The fugitive slave law ought to be so altered as to make the fee of the commissioner equal whether he decides for or against the claimant ; and the clause authorizing the person holding the warrant to summon a *posse comitatus* to be so as to restrict it to cases where violence or rescue is attempted. The laws for the suppression of the African slave-trade ought to be effectually executed."

Another proposition was framed by a committee of the border states, including Delaware, Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and North Carolina ; and New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. This contained nearly the suggestions of the Crittenden resolutions, with the addition of an amendment to the constitution that no territory shall be acquired by the United States without the consent of "three-fourths of the members of the Senate ;" and also a resolution that an act be passed directing that the demand for the surrender of a fugitive slave, should be made before the United States judge of the district in which the fugitive might be found.

Neither the Crittenden resolutions, nor the border state propositions were, however, destined to pass Congress, notwithstanding that the Northern people, having become very anxious upon the question of civil war, were loud and active in their demands that these propositions, one or both, should be adopted.

The following is an extract from a memorial signed by the capitalists and leading men of New York, and forwarded to Congress by a large delegation :

"We judge that an agreed explanation of any uncertain provisions of the constitution, a clearer definition of the powers of the government on disputed questions, and an adaptation of it in its original spirit, to the enlarged dimensions of the country, would satisfy all the honest differences among our countrymen.

"Therefore, we pray leave to suggest, that the assurance, coupled with any required guarantees, of the rights of the states to regulate, without interference from any quarter, the matter of slavery in their borders, of the rights secured by the constitution to the delivery of fugitives, the readjustment of the laws bearing on those subjects which are in possible conflict with it, and some adjustment of the rights of all the states of the Union in the new territory acquired by the blood and treasure of all, by an equitable division in the immediate organization of it into states, with a suitable provision for the formation of new states in their limits, or otherwise, would embrace all that is claimed on any part, and could be arranged without concession of principle on any part.

"Your memorialists humbly pray, that such measures, either of direct legislation or of amendment of the constitution, may be speedily adopted, as will accomplish the objects above stated, which they are assured will restore peace to their agitated country."

Immediately following this memorial, a call for a merchants' meeting at the Chamber of Commerce, New York, resulted in an immense gathering, and the following memorial to Congress, received unanimous consent :

*"To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress :*

"The memorial of the subscribers, citizens of the state of New York, respectfully sheweth : That, while sharing in common with their fellow-citizens, the general solicitude at the dangers which are now threatening the peace and unity of the country, they desire to give their urgent and emphatic expression of the necessity which seems to exist for mutual conciliation and compromise, and without discussion as to the merits of the various questions at issue, believing that the perpetuity of the Union of these United States as one nation is of vastly more importance than the establishment or rejection

of this or that subject of controversy, and that the people of the North will approve of the general outline of the plan of compromise agreed upon by the senators and representatives of the border states,

"Your memorialists humbly pray that such measures may be speedily adopted by Congress, for the settlement of our present difficulties, as will embrace substantially the plan of compromise so recommended by the representatives of the border states, and which, they believe, will restore tranquillity and peace to our now distracted country."

The signatures of some 45,000 voters were procured to this document, and sent to Washington by a special committee, asking the attention of Congress.

In Boston, meetings were held in favor of the Crittenden compromise, and a petition more than one hundred feet long, bearing, it was stated, more than 40,000 names, was carried to Washington by Messrs. Everett, Winthrop, A. Lawrence, C. L. Woodbury, and Foley, asking for the passage of the resolutions of Mr. Crittenden by Congress. In various parts of New England and the North, the same energy was manifest, and petitions were signed by great numbers of voters, for the Crittenden resolutions, or for any resolution that would restore harmony.

Neither this delegation nor those from New York had, however, any influence upon that body. Those who opposed the passage of resolutions argued that nothing had been actually done to need compromise; that the constitutional election of a President was not a matter for compromise, and that until Southern rights had been actually assailed there was no need of volunteering amends. Moreover, there was no evidence that the South wanted any compromise, or would be satisfied with those presented. This reasoning was plausible, as far as the extreme South was concerned.

In the mean time the border states were apparently very earnest to bring about some mode of settlement. On the 17th of January the legislature of Virginia passed resolutions inviting all states, "whether slave-holding or non-slave-holding, who are willing to unite with Virginia in an earnest effort to adjust the present unhappy controversy, to

appoint commissioners, to meet at Washington, February 4th." They stated that "the resolutions of Mr. Crittenden embraced the basis of an adjustment that would be acceptable to this commonwealth." The President, in a message to Congress, January 28th, communicating these resolutions, warmly seconded them, and urged Congress to abstain from passing any law that might tend to bring on hostilities.

The Virginia resolutions being forwarded to all the states, members were appointed from each to attend. New York sent five, and the peace convention met on the 4th of February—the same day on which the Confederate convention met at Montgomery. The peace convention sat until March 1st; and having then adopted a plan satisfactory to the border states, adjourned. This plan, section 1, divided the territories by the line  $36^{\circ} 30'$ ; north of it there were to be no slaves, south of it to be or not, according to the people's wish; Congress and the legislature to have no power of prohibition. Sec. 2. No territories to be acquired without the assent of a majority of the senators North and of those South, and of two-thirds the whole Senate. Sec. 3. Congress to have no power to interfere with slavery in any state, nor to abolish it in the District of Columbia without the consent of the owners and that of Maryland; nor to abolish it in any place under Federal jurisdiction; nor to prevent transportation of blacks from one state to another; nor to tax them higher than land. It provided, also, that certain sections of the constitution should not be altered without the consent of all the states, Congress to pay for slaves not remanded according to law. Also, the citizens of each state to have the privileges and immunities of the several states.

The various propositions continued to be discussed in Congress without any very satisfactory results. On the other hand, the conservative men at Washington were looking to the several state legislatures for some conciliatory action. This in some cases was had: Rhode Island

repealed the obnoxious personal liberty bill, and the legislature of Ohio and those of some other states, made modifications in their respective personal liberty bills, tending to soften asperities. Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, February 19th, introduced a bill into the House, to authorize the President to accept the services of volunteers, but it was not passed. On the same day, Mr. Fenton, of New York, offered a resolution for a convention of the states, and this was also defeated.

The thirty-sixth Congress was now drawing rapidly to a close, and nothing had been done either to sustain the authority of the government, or to promote settlement of the difficulties. The last hours of an expiring administration, are not propitious for the enactment of wise or statesmanlike measures. The adherents of an incoming administration are anxious that it shall have the credit of any favorable action, and the out-going party are not adverse to the hampering of the new rulers with embarrassing circumstances. The great element of irritation in the present instance was the occupation of the forts. They could not much longer hold out without supplies. The old administration would not take the responsibility of withdrawing the troops, and were averse to taking the risk of collision by reinforcing them. In a military point of view, the holding of the forts was of little moment, and in a political sense, still less so, since the great question to be settled was separation, or continued union. If the forts were abandoned and union ultimately triumphed, they would be reoccupied. If separation took place they would be settled for in the general terms of peace. The duty of the executive was, however, very clear. He had no power to give up possession of the property he was sworn to defend.

The whole question, therefore, passed over to the new administration. The most important action of the thirty-sixth Congress was in suspending the postal service in the seceded states; in erecting three new territories, viz., *Colora-*



*do*, made up of parts of Kansas, Nebraska, and Utah, having an area of 100,000 square miles, and a population of 25,000, including Pike's Peak gold region; *Nevada* from Utah and California, including the fertile Carson Valley; and *Dacotah*, formerly part of Minnesota, with an area of 70,000 square miles. The Congress passed several loan bills, and also the tariff bill.

The finances of the Federal government had been in a very distressed condition owing to the revulsion in business, which resulted from political disturbances, and which by reducing the imports of goods, had cut off the customs, the sole source of revenue, from the treasury. In June, 1860, a loan of \$20,000,000 had been authorized; of this \$10,000,000 was offered in October in a five per cent. stock, and it had been taken at a small premium. Before the instalments were paid up, however, the panic that attended the election had affected credit, and many bids were withdrawn. This so seriously affected the means of the department, that as the 1st of January approached, there were no funds with which to meet the interest on the national debt. A loan was authorized, but so shaken was credit, that but few bids were made, and some of them at a rate of thirty-six per cent. interest, per annum. The capitalists interested in the government credit finally took \$1,500,000 of one-year treasury notes, at twelve per cent. per annum (the amount was subsequently raised to \$5,000,000), on condition that the money should be applied to interest on the debt. This was certainly a dark day in the republic, when the Federal government, which had earned the honor of being the only nation that had ever paid its debts in full—principal and interest—and which in 1856, with an overflowing treasury, had paid twenty-two per cent. premium for its own six per cent. stock, to get it out of the market, was now reduced to give twelve per cent. interest, for a few millions, and to come under a pledge, that it should protect its credit with the money.



In the month of January some \$8,000,000 more notes were issued at rates of interest ranging from eight to twelve per cent. In February, Congress authorized the borrowing of \$25,000,000 in six per cent. stock or treasury notes ; a portion of this was negotiated at eighty-four per cent. The question of raising the tariff duties in order to provide more revenue was now pressing, and a bill was reported, not only increasing the rates, but changing them from *ad valorem* to specific duties ; and in some cases, charging both on the same article. The provisions of the bill were complicated, and it was passed, March 2d, to go into operation April 1st. This tariff bill also provided for the issue of \$10,000,000 more treasury notes, and also for the emission of about \$14,000,000 remaining unissued of an amount authorized by the act of June, 1860. This tariff caused much discontent, and was regarded as very impolitic at that juncture particularly. It was regarded as reviving the policy which had in former years been so distasteful to the South, and which therefore could not now be regarded as conciliating. The average duties of the former tariff had been nineteen and a half per cent. on all importations, and the new one was about thirty-four per cent. average. This return to protective duties, had also an adverse effect upon the Union interests in England, where it was regarded as hostile to British trade. Nevertheless, there is no doubt but that the government revenues were in want of succor, and it was an open question in how far the new changes aided or defeated that object.

In addition to these laws, the House of Representatives had passed a resolution, as follows :

“ That no amendment shall be made to the Constitution which shall authorize or give Congress power to abolish, or interfere within any state, with the domestic institutions thereof, including persons held to labor or servitude by the laws of said state.”

This being passed by a two-thirds majority, would if it had been passed by three-fourths of the state legislature have become valid as a new article to the constitution.

There were various compromise amendments proposed and lost. Mr. Crittenden proposed to substitute the Peace Convention resolution, for his own. This was lost, 28 to 7. The question on Mr. Crittenden's resolution was then taken, and resulted, 19 to 20, and the Congress adjourned amidst great excitement. It was observed the Capitol clock had stopped at near the legal hour of adjournment, so that Congress sat some time longer than it would otherwise have done.

While Congress had been drawing toward its close, the anxiety of the public had been divided between the action of that body and the movements of the incoming administration. There had probably never in the history of the country been so much interest expressed in the views of a newly elected magistrate, as was the case in relation to Mr. Lincoln. The opponents of the former administration had been so bitter in their criticism of its alleged do-nothing policy, that by inference some energetic action was expected or feared, according to the views of individuals, from the new chief magistrate. Every indication of what his course might be was eagerly caught up and canvassed. On the 11th of February Mr. Lincoln left his home, at Springfield, Illinois, with the intention of making the journey by special trains, through Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Buffalo, Albany, New York, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, and Baltimore. This unusual course on the part of the President elect, greatly added to the public excitement and anxiety. On his way, Mr. Lincoln made brief speeches at all the larger places, without, however, giving any explicit statements of the proposed policy of his administration, beyond the general affirmation, that it would be one of justice to every section. He evidently held the opinion expressed by Mr. Seward at the Astor House dinner in New York, that the difficulties were not serious and were gradually dying out. The programme of the journey was carried out until on the afternoon of the 22d of February, Mr. Lincoln, on reaching Harrisburg, received,

during the evening, intelligence that induced him to change his plans. As his journey approached its end, threats of his assassination, which had been made even before his departure from his home in Illinois, were multiplied, and assumed more definite form. Rumors of a conspiracy to effect this object at Baltimore reached General Scott, who caused an inquiry to be instituted by skilful detectives, who found such presumptive evidence of its existence that he sent a special messenger to Mr. Lincoln at Harrisburg, to advise that he should not carry out the public programme announced, but pass through Baltimore at an early and unexpected hour. This suggestion was accompanied by such proofs of its necessity, as satisfied Mr. Lincoln of the propriety of the change; and he accordingly left Harrisburg on the night of February 23d, with the slight disguise of a military cloak and a Scotch plaid cap, and arrived safely in Washington the following morning—the telegraph wires at Harrisburg having been cut to prevent the transmission of the intelligence of his departure. His family passed through Baltimore the next morning, and were met at the railroad station by a riotous assemblage, which showed itself ready for mischief, and appeared exasperated on discovering that Mr. Lincoln was not present.

There had been threats in circulation that the new President would never be inaugurated, and many fears were entertained that those threats were not without foundation. General Scott had, however, taken every precaution, and the military under his orders were on parade on the 4th of March. The President with his cabinet, W. H. Seward, of New York, Secretary of State; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, Postmaster-General; Edward Bates, of Missouri, Attorney-General; and Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior, proceeded to the Capitol, and the inauguration took place amid the acclamations of the people.

The inaugural message of the President which had been

so long looked forward to as a document which should decide the question of peace or war was at last pronounced, and gave general satisfaction, though some of its positions were differently interpreted by different parties.

The message began by declaring that the election of a Republican President afforded no ground to the Southern states for apprehending any invasion of their rights. "I have," said he, "no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." He explicitly recognized the obligation of enforcing the provision for the delivery of fugitive slaves. He then proceeded to argue against the right of state secession under the constitution; that all resolves and ordinances to the effect of secession are null and void.

"I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. I shall perfectly perform it as far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary." "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and collect the duties and imposts, but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

"Where hostility to the United States shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people that object. While the strict legal right may exist of the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

"The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union.

"Suppose you go to war; you cannot fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you. This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I freely recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the

instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not specially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish themselves to accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of states, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconception of most I have said, I depart from my purpose, not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.”

President Buchanan and Chief-Justice Taney listened with the utmost attention to every word of the address, and at its conclusion the latter administered the usual oath, in taking which, Mr. Lincoln was vociferously cheered.

The inauguration was the eighth ceremony of the kind at which Chief-Justice Taney had officiated, having administered the oath of office successively to Presidents Van Buren, Harrison, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, and Lincoln. The ceremony was exceedingly impressive.

The South at once received the message as a declaration of war, while at the North opinion was greatly divided. Senator Douglas, in his place in the Senate, hailed it as the harbinger of peace, and the same view was entertained by many influential men at the North where the hope of ultimate peace was strengthened by that opinion. In the seceded states, however, intense excitement followed the reception of the address, except among those few who hoped for a restoration of union and harmony, and these strove to consider the document as opposed to coercion.

The Senate remained in session until the 28th of March, mostly occupied with the confirmation of the appointees of the President. The administration, for the first month, gave no open demonstration of its future line of policy, but after making the necessary changes in the subordinate

officers of the different departments, and becoming familiar with the new and onerous duties it had undertaken, prepared itself, as well as its circumstances allowed, for the coming emergency, and awaited the development of events. The restless spirits in the border states, who sympathized with secession, were not satisfied with this course, as it prevented them from hurrying forward their states into acts of treason; while some sympathizers with the South at the North, advised the recognition of the Southern Confederacy as the only practicable and satisfactory settlement of the momentous question which agitated the country. But the government, though silent, had not been idle, and evidences of its activity became apparent in the navy-yards at the North. An expedition was fitted out at New York, having for its object the reinforcement of Fort Pickens, and to throw supplies into Fort Sumter, the position of which had not ceased to be a matter of the greatest public concern. The Southern Confederacy and state authorities were kept informed, through their agents in Washington, occupying official positions, of all the movements of the government, and were continually on the alert to collect and transmit the earliest information. The Southern commissioners had, on the 13th of March, addressed the Hon. W. H. Seward, secretary of state, on behalf of the seven states forming the Southern Confederacy, and asked for an audience of the President, for the purpose of opening negotiations for a settlement of difficulties. Mr. Seward, in a paper dated March 15th, though, with the assent of the commissioners, not delivered till April 8th, declined the request. He said:

"The official duties of the secretary of state are confined to the conducting of the foreign relations of the country, and do not embrace domestic questions, or questions arising between the several states, and the Federal government is unable to comply with the request of Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford to appoint a day on which they may present the evidences of their authority and the objects of their visit to the President of the United States. On the contrary, he is obliged to state to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, that he has no authority, nor is he at liberty to recognize them as diplomatic agents, or hold correspondence or other communication with them."



An attempt was made to implicate the secretary of state in some duplicity in relation to the matter of the attempted reinforcement of Fort Sumter, and this reply to the commissioners of the Southern Confederacy. The charge was made on the authority of John A. Campbell, formerly one of the associate judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, who, by his own acknowledgment, was at that time in full sympathy with the leaders of the rebellion, and acting the part of a spy on the United States government, communicating at once all he could learn to the Confederate government. Such a man's statements, if unsupported as these were, are not entitled to full credence, and the use of them made by Mr. Davis, the President of the Confederate States, shows a desire to make capital by a perversion of facts. Judge Campbell states that Mr. Seward informed him that Fort Sumter would soon be evacuated. It was, and would have been, if it had not been attacked, as Major Anderson offered to evacuate it, on the 15th of April, if let alone. Judge Campbell says that Mr. Seward informed him that Fort Sumter would not be reinforced without notice being given to Governor Pickens. Such notice was given, as Governor Pickens himself informed the Confederate President. When Judge Campbell still reiterated his inquiries, Mr. Seward replied, "Faith as to Sumter fully kept—wait and see." Governor Pickens was notified of the intention of the government to "reinforce Fort Sumter peaceably or otherwise by force," on the 8th of April; the attempt to do so was not made till the night of the 12th of April.

Under these circumstances, the final letter of the commissioners of the Southern Confederacy to Mr. Seward can only be regarded as a piece of unnecessary impertinence. It was as follows:

"Your refusal to entertain these overtures for a peaceful solution, the active naval and military preparation of this government, and a formal notice to the commanding general of the Confederate forces in the harbor of Charleston, that the President intends to provision Fort Sumter by forcible means, if necessary, are viewed by the undersigned, and can only be received by the world, as a declaration of



war against the Confederate States; for the President of the United States knows that Fort Sumter cannot be provisioned without the effusion of blood. The undersigned, in behalf of their government and people, accept the gage of battle thus thrown down to them; and appealing to God and the judgment of mankind for the righteousness of their cause, the people of the Confederate States will defend their liberties to the last against this flagrant and open attempt at their subjugation to sectional power."

Mr. Seward made no reply beyond a simple acknowledgment.

These commissioners then left Washington, and on the 13th, the commission appointed by the Virginia convention to ask of the President information as to the policy which the Federal executive intended to pursue toward the Confederate States, was received by the President. He replied:

"In answer I have to say, that having, at the beginning of my official term, expressed my intended policy as plainly as I was able, it is with deep regret and mortification I now learn there is great and injurious uncertainty in the public mind as to what that policy is, and what course I intend to pursue. Not having as yet seen occasion to change, it is now my purpose to pursue the course marked out in the inaugural address. I commend a careful consideration of the whole document as the best expression I can give to my purposes. As I then and therein said, I now repeat, 'The power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what is necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.' By the words 'property and places belonging to the government,' I chiefly allude to the military posts and property which were in possession of the government when it came into my hands. But if, as now appears to be true, in pursuit of a purpose to drive the United States authority from these places, an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess it, if I can, like places which had been seized before the government was devolved upon me; and, in any event, I shall, to the best of my ability, repel force by force. In case it proves true that Fort Sumter has been assaulted, as is reported, I shall, perhaps, cause the United States mails to be withdrawn from all the states which claim to have seceded, believing that the commencement of actual war against the government justifies and possibly demands it. I scarcely need to say that I consider the military posts and property situated within the states which claim to have seceded, as yet belonging to the government of the United States as much as they did before the supposed secession. Whatever else I may do for the purpose, I shall not attempt to collect the duties and imposts by any armed invasion of any part of the country; not meaning by this, however, that I may

not land a force deemed necessary to relieve a fort upon the border of the country. From the fact that I have quoted a part of the inaugural address, it must not be inferred that I repudiate any other part, the whole of which I reaffirm, except so far as what I now say of the mails may be regarded as a modification."

This reply was made on the 13th, the day after that on which the batteries at Charleston opened on Fort Sumter.

The military power of the United States had never been large in respect of men; more particularly, the national capital had ever been free from soldiers. There had been, since the formation of the government, an annual expenditure of a large sum both for the navy and the army. By this means a considerable number of forts and coast defences had been built, and a large amount of munitions of war had been collected in the various arsenals and depots of the several states. These were mostly precautions against enemies from without. The policy of the government, harmonizing with the spirit of our institutions, had ever been averse to the keeping up of a standing army in time of peace; and, although the country was possessed of a great number of well-educated active officers, graduated, annually, during the last fifty years at West Point, few of these were in actual service, and a large proportion of them resigned for the Southern service. The whole authorized strength of the army was 18,165 men. Of these, the whole force available for active service in the field, was 11,000 men. This little force was scattered over an area of three millions of square miles, and occupying 130 permanent garrisons, posts and camps, many of which were constantly exposed to Indian hostilities, and not a man could be spared from any frontier. The department of the east had a force of 1,027, under General John E. Wool.\*

\* John E. Wool, captain in the thirteenth infantry, April 1812, and on the 13th of October, 1812, distinguished at Queenstown Heights, when he was severely wounded. In April, 1813, major of the twenty-ninth infantry, and in December, 1814, was breveted lieutenant-colonel for gallant conduct at the battle of Plattsburg. In May, 1815, he was retained in the sixth Infantry. In September, 1816, inspector-general, with the rank of colonel. He was made lieutenant-colonel of infantry in February, 1818; brevet brigadier-general in April, 1826, for "ten years' faithful service;" and full brigadier-

Of this force, six companies of artillery, under Colonel Brown, were at Fortress Monroe, constituting all the force within reach of Washington.

Soon after the result of the election was known in December, rumors had begun to multiply of the organization and drilling of companies, in Maryland and Virginia, for an attack upon Washington. On the 2d of January General Scott, who was very active in the defence of the city, recommended Captain Charles Stone\* to have charge of the organization of the district militia.

On the 8th of January a company of marines was sent to Fort Washington, on the Potomac, fourteen miles below Washington. The forts, arsenals and property of the general government, with the exception of Fortress Monroe, Fort Pickens and the Tortugas, were successively seized by the authorities of the states within which they were situated. The fort in Charleston harbor, gallantly held, was destined to bring on the crisis of the war. The three forts that defend Charleston harbor are, Fort Moultrie, of revolutionary fame, on Sullivan's Island; Castle Pinckney, near the city; and Fort Sumter, a new structure, on an island in the channel, commanding all the approaches to the city. It had been slowly erected by the Federal government, at considerable cost, and was not yet so far complete as to receive a garrison. The place was calculated for 146

general in June 1841. He led the central division of the army which united with that of General Taylor in February, 1847; May, 1848, brevet major-general, for gallant conduct at Buena Vista; 1861 appointed to command at Fortress Monroe; 1862, took Norfolk, made full major-general.

\* Charles P. Stone, a native of Massachusetts, entered West Point in 1841; second-lieutenant of ordnance in 1845. From August, 1845, to January, 1846, he was assistant professor of ethics, &c., at the United States Military Academy. He was breveted first-lieutenant in September, 1847, for gallantry at Molino del Rey, and breveted captain the same month for meritorious conduct at Chapultepec. In February, 1853, full rank of first-lieutenant, resigned November, 1856; December, 1860, command of the District of Columbia militia. In May, 1861, colonel of the fourteenth United States infantry, and shortly after brigadier-general commanding the third brigade under Major-General Banks. He suffered a severe defeat at Ball's Bluff, and was arrested on a rumored charge of complicity with the enemy.

guns, and a war garrison of 650 men. It had cost \$677,000. The only force that the Federal government had for these three forts was about sixty men in Fort Moultrie. General Scott, who had clearly foreseen the growing difficulties, as far back as October, 1860, had placed in command, at Fort Moultrie, Major Robert Anderson.\*

Fort Moultrie, although strong, as respects an enemy entering the harbor, had never been designed to withstand an attack from the city of Charleston, the authorities of which now expressed a determination to possess it. Against such an attack Major Anderson could with difficulty maintain himself. He had, under date of 11th December, the day on which the South Carolina senators withdrew from Washington, received from John B. Floyd,† secretary of war, instructions "to hold the forts in the harbor, and, if attacked, to defend himself to the last extremity." Moultrie was difficult to strengthen, while the

\* Robert Anderson was born in Kentucky, entered the West Point Academy in 1821, and, on graduating in 1825, was made brevet second-lieutenant in the third artillery. During the Black Hawk war he acted as inspector-general of the Illinois volunteers. In June, 1833, he was promoted to a first-lieutenancy. From September to December, 1835, he was assistant instructor of artillery at the United States Military Academy; and from the last-mentioned date to November, 1837, instructor. He was appointed aide-de-camp to Major-General Scott in 1838; was breveted captain for gallant conduct during the Florida war, in April, 1838; was made assistant adjutant-general, with the rank of captain, the same year, and captain in 1841. In July, 1848, he was appointed brevet major and acting major of his battalion for gallantry at Molino del Rey, where he was severely wounded. At the commencement of the present war he was placed in command of the forts in Charleston harbor, by General Scott, and there became famous as the defender of Sumter. He was made a brigadier-general in the regular army, May 15th, 1861. As an author, General Anderson has published a translation of the French system of army tactics.

† John Buchanan Floyd, son of Governor John Floyd, of Virginia. He was a planter in Arkansas, in 1824. Returning to Virginia, he succeeded, in 1848, to the governorship of Virginia, like his father and grandfather. In 1850, he opposed the Compromise Bill; 1856 to 1861, secretary of war under Buchanan; resigned December 29th, 1860; became a brigadier-general in the Confederate army; suffered reverses in Western Virginia, and escaped from Fort Donelson, Tennessee, when it was surrendered.

bearing of the authorities of Charleston toward him was becoming daily more threatening. They had secured a pledge from John B. Floyd, the secretary of war, that while negotiations were pending between the South Carolina commissioners and the Washington authorities, there should be no movement on either side, and that Major Anderson should not change his position. It does not appear that Major Anderson was aware of that pledge; but on the 26th of December, while the commissioners were on their way to Washington, he, on his own responsibility, removed his command to Fort Sumter. Three schooners hauled up to the wharf, and were laden, it was given out, with the baggage of the men, about to be removed to James Island. The schooners sailed in that direction, but after dark landed the munitions of war at Sumter, where the whole force disembarked, at ten o'clock P. M., from row-boats. A few men had been left at Moultrie, under Captain Foster, to cut down the flagstaff, spike the guns, burn the carriages, and dismantle the place. The flames notified the people of Charleston of what had transpired, and the news of it, as it spread through the country, caused the greatest excitement. At the North, the name of Major Anderson was everywhere honored, as that of a bold, decided, and loyal leader. At the South his action was denounced as a breach of faith, which impaired all confidence in the government; and it stimulated the war preparations.

The secretary of war addressed the following note to the President:—

“WAR DEPARTMENT, *December 29th*, 1860.

“SIR: On the morning of the 27th inst. I read the following paper to you in the presence of the Cabinet:

“COUNCIL CHAMBER, EXECUTIVE MANSION.

“SIR: It is evident now, from the action of the commander of Fort Moultrie, that the solemn pledges of the government have been violated by Major Anderson. In my judgment but one remedy is now left us by which to vindicate our honor and prevent civil war. It is in vain now to hope for confidence on the part of the people of South Carolina in any further pledges as to the action of the military. One remedy is left, and that is, to withdraw the garrison from the

harbor of Charleston. I hope the President will allow me to make that order at once. This order, in my judgment, can alone prevent bloodshed and civil war.

“JOHN B. FLOYD,  
“Secretary of War.”

“I then considered the honor of the administration pledged to maintain the troops in the position they occupied, for such had been the assurances given to the gentlemen of South Carolina, who had a right to speak for her. South Carolina, on the other hand, gave reciprocal pledges that no force should be brought by them against the troops or against the property of the United States. The sole object of both parties, in these reciprocal pledges, was to prevent a collision and the effusion of blood, in the hope that some means might be found for a peaceful accommodation of the existing troubles, the two Houses of Congress having both raised committees looking to that object. Thus affairs stood, until the action of Major Anderson, taken unfortunately while the commissioners were on their way to this capital, on a peaceful mission, looking to the avoidance of bloodshed, has complicated matters in the existing manner. Our refusal, or even delay, to place affairs back, as they stood under our agreement, invites a collision, and must, inevitably, inaugurate civil war. I cannot consent to be the agent of such calamity. I deeply regret that I feel myself under the necessity of tendering to you my resignation as secretary of war, because I can no longer hold it, under my convictions of patriotism, nor with honor, subjected as I am to a violation of solemn pledges and plighted faith.

“With the highest personal regard,

“I am most truly yours,

JOHN B. FLOYD.

“To his Excellency the President of  
the United States.”

The resignation was promptly accepted, and Postmaster-General Joseph Holt assigned, *ad interim*, to the war department.

Major Anderson's position was not much improved by the change. He, indeed, could not be captured by surprise, but neither could he be succored, all communication being cut off; and, unless relief was sent, he would be soon starved out.

On the 2d of January, the steam-frigate Brooklyn was ordered to be got ready for Charleston harbor, in company with a vessel carrying four companies of troops from Fortress Monroe. This was telegraphed to Charleston, causing great excitement, but the order was not executed.

The preparations for defence were stimulated by the



rumor in Charleston. Fort Moultrie was repaired and newly completed batteries were in readiness to repel any attempt to succor Fort Sumter. Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie were occupied by South Carolina troops. The revenue-cutter William Aiken, was surrendered by its Commander, N. L. Costa, and the crew volunteered to remain under the state authorities. Earthworks were raised on Sullivan's and Morris Islands. At the same time troops were tendered to the governor by the states of Georgia, Alabama and North Carolina, which states sympathized strongly with South Carolina. The United States arsenal and its munitions were taken by 100 palmetto guards. The palmetto flag was raised over the post-office and custom-house at Charleston, and Collector Colcock notified, that all vessels from and for ports outside of South Carolina, must enter and clear at Charleston. The convention ordered strong fortifications in and around Charleston harbor, to resist the sending of reinforcements to Major Anderson. The Columbia artillery arrived to aid in the defence of the harbor, and Commander Pettigru, of Castle Pinckney, gave orders that no boat should approach the wharf-head without permission. While these movements were being made, the streets of Charleston were patrolled by the military, and a censorship established over the telegraph. The attention of the authorities was earnestly directed to the getting possession of Fort Sumter, occupied by the gallant Anderson and his small but dauntless band, who steadily employed themselves in strengthening the defences of the place, although they saw without only the batteries of their assailants rapidly rising around them, closing the hope of succor, while the little stock of supplies within dwindled rapidly away, notwithstanding the utmost economy and diminishing allowances. However, on the 5th of January, the steamship *Star of the West*, Captain McGowan, cleared for Havana, and left New York, with stores, for Fort Sumter. In the lower bay she took on board 200 men with



their arms and munitions. She arrived off Charleston bar January 9th, at half-past one o'clock, A. M. The lights on shore had been removed, and those of the steamer were extinguished to avoid being seen. A steamboat was on the watch however, and as the *Star of the West* passed over the bar, she made signals in shore. Inasmuch as that the buoys had been removed, the *Star of the West* made her way with great difficulty. She had the stars and stripes floating from her staff; but, when within a half-mile of Morris Island, a shore battery opened upon her. She then hoisted a large United States flag at the fore, and continued on, the shot flying over her, until the range seemed to have been got, and one took effect forward, and one amid-ships. It is necessary, in entering Charleston harbor, to run close to Fort Moultrie, before making Fort Sumter. As the *Star of the West* proceeded, two steamers near Fort Moultrie got under way, towing an armed schooner, with the evident intention of cutting her off. To reach Sumter, whose guns kept silent, it was necessary to encounter that force, and capture or destruction seemed inevitable. The *Star of the West* therefore went about and returned to New York.

During this attempt of the *Star of the West* to run in, her course had been watched by Major Anderson from Sumter. He did not open his guns upon the batteries, because he could not believe the act authorized by the South Carolina authorities, and he was not aware that the vessel fired upon was coming to his relief. He immediately, January 9th, dispatched a message to Governor Pickens, denouncing the act as one of war, and threatening that, unless it was disavowed, he would not permit any vessel to pass within range of the guns of his fort. Governor Pickens, in reply, stated that an attempt, on the part of the United States, to send troops into Charleston harbor was an act of war, and that special agents had been sent to warn off vessels.

Major Anderson then referred the matter to his govern-

ment, and requested that Lieutenant T. Talbot, bearer of dispatches, might have facilities extended to him for his departure.

Subsequent to the firing upon the *Star of the West*, many military events occurred in each of the seceded states. In Florida, Fort Pickens, which had long been unoccupied, was garrisoned by Federal troops, and the garrison, as well as the fleet off that place, had been supplied with food from time to time by citizens of Pensacola. General Bragg, formerly of the United States army, and conspicuous at Buena Vista, but now in command of the Confederate forces at that point, therefore forbade all further connection with the fort or fleet. In Kansas, Fort Kearney was seized by the secessionists. In Alabama a schooner with supplies for the fleet was seized. In Arkansas, the Little Rock arsenal with considerable supplies was seized. In Louisiana, the cutter *McClelland* and the cutter *Lewiston* were both seized. General Dix, on succeeding to the treasury department, January 15th, dispatched Mr. Jones, a clerk in the department, to New Orleans to save the cutters if possible. On his arrival Mr. Jones telegraphed to the department that Captain Breshwood refused to obey any instructions of the department. General Dix\* immediately sent an order for Lieutenant Caldwell to take command, and "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." This famous order thrilled through every loyal breast, and gave a stamp of energy to the feeble government that had apparently been falling to pieces. In Texas, where General David E. Twiggs held command, all the military posts, with property to the amount of

\* John Adams Dix, born in New Hampshire, 1798; ensign in 1812; aide to General Brown in 1828, and a lawyer in Cooperstown, New York; 1830, adjutant-general of New York; January, 1833, secretary of state of New York; 1842, member of Assembly; 1845, United States senator; introduced a bill for reciprocal trade with the British Provinces; 1853, assistant treasurer New York City; 1859, postmaster of New York; January, 1861, secretary of the treasury; 1861, major-general of volunteers; June, 1861, commander of the military department of Maryland.

\$1,250,000, were, February 18th, surrendered to the state authorities. For this act of disloyalty and treason he was, March 1st, by order of the secretary of war, dismissed from the service. The revenue-cutter Dodge also surrendered to the state authorities. In Georgia, the arsenal at Augusta with its contents was seized, and a quantity of arms on the way from the North for the state, were seized by the New York police without authority. In retaliation, the government of Georgia seized a number of New York vessels, which were subsequently released. The general attention was, however, fixed upon South Carolina, and General Beauregard had been placed by President Davis in command at Charleston, where the troops and batteries that surrounded the devoted Anderson continued to multiply. The Catawba Indians offered their services to Governor Pickens. The battery at Morris Island fired upon a schooner that attempted to enter. Rumors of the most contradictory character in regard to Fort Sumter continued to multiply; at one time it was asserted that it would be supplied, at another, that the order for evacuation was actually signed. The crisis was evidently at hand.

The expedition that had been fitting out at New York was composed of the steamer Powhattan, eleven guns, the transports Atlantic, Baltic, and Illinois, the steam-tugs Yankee and Uncle Ben, with about thirty launches; also, the Pawnee, eleven guns, left Washington April 6th, and the Harriet Lane, five guns. These vessels, carrying 1,380 men, under command of Colonel Harvey Brown, second artillery, sailed with sealed orders April 7th. On the following day General Beauregard\* telegraphed the Confed-

\* P. G. Toutant Beauregard was born on his father's plantation near New Orleans, Louisiana. He graduated at West Point in 1838, second-lieutenant first artillery, and was transferred to the corps of engineers, first-lieutenant in 1839. He was breveted captain in August, 1847, for gallant conduct at Contreras and Churubusco, and major in September of the same year for services at Chapultepec. At the assault on the city of Mexico, Major Beauregard was wounded. Subsequently he was placed in charge of the construction of the mint and custom-house at New Orleans, and of the fortifications

erate secretary of war that a messenger from President Lincoln had notified him that Fort Sumter was to be provisioned peaceably or by force. In reply, General Beauregard was ordered to demand the immediate evacuation of the place. On the 10th the fleet appeared off Charleston harbor. At two o'clock, April 11th, General Beauregard made the demand on Major Anderson to evacuate with arms and personal property. This Major Anderson promptly refused. On the same day, per order of the Confederate secretary of war, General Beauregard demanded on what day Major Anderson would be ready to leave. He replied by noon on the 15th. General Beauregard replied April 12th, at half-past three o'clock, A. M., that he should open his batteries on Fort Sumter in one hour. Accordingly, on Friday, April 12th, at half-past four o'clock, A. M., a day and hour ever to be remembered in the history of the American continent, a fire was commenced upon the United States flag waving over Fort Sumter, from a battery of heavy columbiads on Sullivan's Island. This was followed by the fire from all points. The force in the fort was very small, and was required to sustain a fire against immense odds. The whole strength was as follows:

Names.	Rank.	Regiment or Corps.	Original entry into Service.	Born in
R. Anderson.....	Major.....	1st Artillery.....	July 1, 1825.....	Kentucky.
S. W. Crawford.....	Asst. Surgeon.....	Medical Staff.....	March 10, 1851.....	Pennsylvania.
Abner Doubleday.....	Captain.....	1st Artillery.....	July 1, 1842.....	New York.
Truman Seymour.....	Captain.....	1st Artillery.....	July 1, 1846.....	Vermont.
Theodore Talbot.....	1st Lieutenant.....	1st Artillery.....	May 22, 1847.....	Dis. Columbia.
Jeff. C. Davis.....	1st Lieutenant.....	1st Artillery.....	June 17, 1848.....	Indiana.
J. N. Hall.....	2d Lieutenant.....	1st Artillery.....	July 1, 1859.....	New York.
J. G. Foster.....	Captain.....	Engineers.....	July 1, 1846.....	N. Hampshire.
G. W. Snyder.....	1st Lieutenant.....	Engineers.....	July 1, 1856.....	New York.
R. K. Meade.....	2d Lieutenant.....	Engineers.....	July 1, 1857.....	Virginia.
Officers.	Band.	Artillerists.	Laborers.	Total.
9	15	55	30	109

When Major Anderson, at half-past three o'clock, received notice that the fire would be opened on the fort in an

at the mouth of the Mississippi. At the breaking out of the present war he was about to be appointed superintendent of the West Point Academy by President Buchanan. Beauregard is in the prime of life, being about forty-three years of age. He is a brother-in-law of Mr. Slidell. He was in command of Charleston harbor, brigadier-general commanding at the battle of Bull-Run, and commanded at the battle of Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh.

hour, he removed the sentinels from the parapets, closed the posterns, sent up the old stars and stripes, and ordered the troops not to leave the bomb-proofs until summoned by the drums. At half-past four, a bomb from Sullivan's Island burst over the fort, and in a few moments a circle of fire opened, showering upon the devoted band shells and shot in awful profusion. There were four large batteries and many smaller playing upon the fort. One on Cummings' Point 1,600 yards distant, on the South, commanded the gorge or rear of the fort. On Sullivan's Island were Fort Moultrie and a new battery of heavy columbiads and ten-inch mortars, and lastly an iron floating battery of immense strength, at anchor 1,800 yards distant. From these and the other batteries the fire converged upon the fort with great power and accuracy. The crash upon the walls of the place was terrific, while the shells burst within with such frequency and force that it was death to go outside the lower casemates. Amidst this awful tornado of shot, Major Anderson directed his men to get their breakfasts, which was done at seven o'clock. The little party was then divided into three reliefs, to change every four hours. The first, under Captain Doubleday and Lieutenant Snyder, opened the fire upon all points simultaneously, and it was sustained with great rapidity. The enthusiasm of the men was so great that all kept at the guns; this could not last, however. It was necessary to divide the reliefs, and the doing so caused the firing of the fort apparently to slacken after the first four hours. The fire from Fort Moultrie soon disabled one ten-inch columbiad, one eight-inch columbiad, one forty-two-pounder and two eight-inch sea howitzers on the parapet, where the firing became so accurate and so intense that Major Anderson withdrew his men to the casemates. The explosion of shells and the quantity of missiles rained upon the fort from every quarter during the day, made it impossible to work the barbette or upper uncovered guns.

While this work of destruction was going on, the fleet

beyond the bar was seen to dip their flags by way of signal. That of the fort was dipped in return. It turned out to be the case afterward, that a plan had been perfected to throw 250 men and supplies into the fort, by boats, at daylight on the 13th. This was frustrated by the Baltic running aground on Rattlesnake Shoal, on the night of the 12th, so that the fleet was of no assistance to the fort.

By noon, the cartridges were exhausted, and a party was sent into the magazine to manufacture more, for which purpose blankets and shirts were used, but there were no means of weighing the powder, a misfortune that destroyed all hope of accurate firing. The fire of the enemy continually increased in violence and accuracy. There was not a moment in which the whizzing of balls and crash of shells ceased during the day. The English rifled gun on Cummings' Point, was served with great precision, every shot cutting out large quantities of masonry about the embrasures, and wounding the men with the flying concrete rubbish. Sergeant Rearnan, a Mexican veteran, was knocked down, but soon revived, and went to work remarking, that he "was only knocked down temporarily." The shell and hot shot set the officers' barracks on fire three times during the day, calling upon the men for renewed efforts to extinguish them under a most galling fire. The officers' quarters suffered terribly by the shot, one brick tower being completely demolished. The meals of the men were served at the guns, the cannoneers eating as they worked. The enthusiasm was not confined to the soldiers, but the workmen engaged with zeal at the guns. A party took possession of a gun that had been abandoned because of the close fire made upon it, and worked it with great effect.

In this manner the day drew to a close. The small force varied their work in making cartridges, extinguishing the fire, and serving the guns, until nightfall, when, it being no longer possible to see the effect of the shot, the exhausted men ate their last biscuit, closed the port-holes



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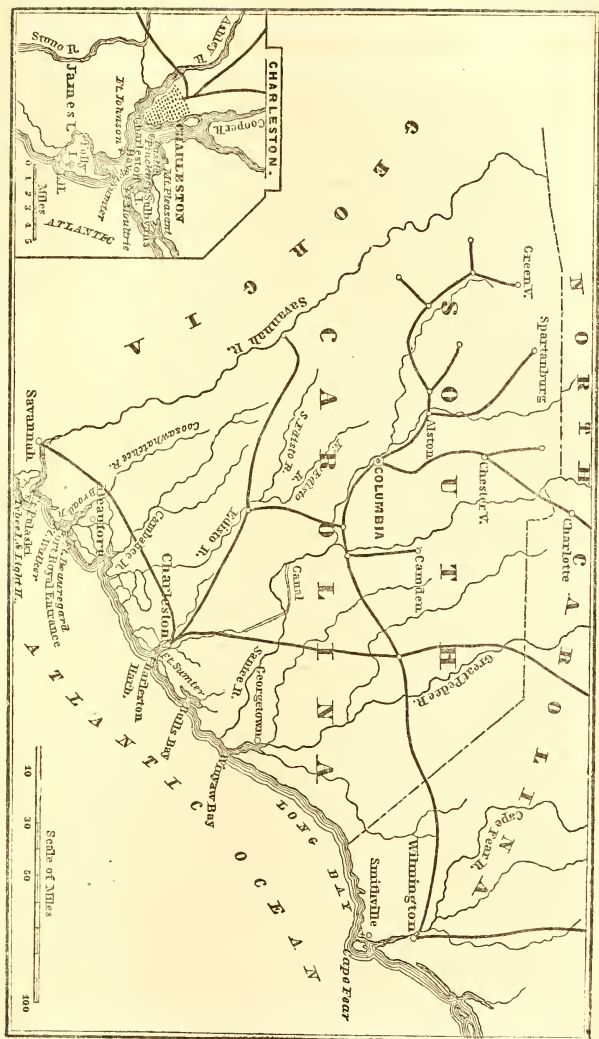
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In this manner the day drew to a close. The small force varied their work in making cartridges, extinguishing the fire, and serving the guns, until nightfall, when, it being no longer possible to see the effect of the shot, the exhausted men ate their last biscuit, closed the port-holes

for the night, nailed the old flag to the mast, and retired to their casemates, to get what rest they could amidst the iron storm that did not cease to thunder about their devoted heads, during the night.

With the dawn on Saturday, the guns of Sumter again replied to the enemy, but it became very soon apparent that the enemy were throwing hot shot with the greatest rapidity. The barracks were fired, and the flames got such headway that they could not be mastered. The whole garrison was then called to remove the powder from the magazine; ninety odd barrels were rolled out by those dauntless men through the falling shot and bursting shells. The heat was then too great to allow the men any longer to approach the magazine. The doors were therefore closed and locked. The fire then spread to every portion of the wood-work, while the wind drove the smoke into the fort with stifling effect. The men, no longer able to see each other, could breathe only by means of a wet cloth over the face. The cartridges were once more exhausted, and none could be made on account of the sparks falling in all directions. The upper service magazines were now on fire, and the shells and ammunition exploded with terrific force, demolishing the tower, and scattering the upper portions of the building in all directions. The powder removed from the magazine had hitherto been protected by wet blankets, but the spread of the flames made it necessary to throw the powder, all but four barrels, out of the port-holes into the sea. The crash of beams, the roar of the flames, the bursting shells, the explosion of munitions, the falling fragments of the building, the thunder of shot against the walls, were indescribably grand, yet that gallant band of hungry men, amidst the stifling heat, the blinding smoke, and the crumbling walls, stood to their guns without thought of surrender, looking aloft only occasionally to see that the stars still floated above the din, for nine times had the flagstaff been hit and the lanyards shot away. The staff was finally cut off and planted on



the ramparts, with the flag pierced with shot-holes nailed to it, a mark for a circle of batteries.

At this juncture General Wigfall made his appearance at an embrasure, with a white flag tied to his sword. He said he came from General Beauregard, the flag of Sumter being down; Lieutenant Davis replied, "It is up again." General Wigfall then said, "You are on fire, let us stop this; there is a white flag, will any one wave it from the embrasure?" One of the officers replied, "That is for you to do if you wish your batteries to stop." General Wigfall then held out the flag, when Corporal Bringham was directed to hold it for him. The corporal did so, but the shot continued to strike around him. Lieutenant Davis then said, "If you request that a flag shall be shown there while you hold a conference with Major Anderson, it may be done." General Wigfall, then addressing Major Anderson, said, "I am from General Beauregard. You have defended your flag, nobly, sir; on what terms will you evacuate the fort?" Major Anderson in reply, said, "General Beauregard is already acquainted with my only terms."

"Do I understand that you will evacuate upon the terms proposed the other day?"

"Yes, sir, and on those conditions only," was the reply of the major.

"Then, sir," said Wigfall, "I understand, Major Anderson, that the fort is to be ours?"

"On those conditions only, I repeat."

"Very well," said Wigfall, and he retired.

A short time afterward a deputation, consisting of Senator Chesnut, Roger A. Pryor, Captain Lee, and W. Porcher Miles, came from General Beauregard, and had an interview with Major Anderson. They agreed, substantially, to the terms proposed by Wigfall, which were that the garrison should take all their individual and company property, that they should march out with their side and other arms with all the honors, in their own way, and at their own time;

that they should salute their flag, and take it with them. This was at a quarter before two p. m., April 13th.

When the baggage of the garrison was all on board of the transport, the soldiers remaining inside under arms, a portion were told off as gunners to serve in saluting the American flag. When the last gun was fired, the flag was lowered, the men cheering. At the fiftieth discharge there was a premature explosion, which killed one man instantly, seriously wounded another, and two more not so badly. The men were then formed and marched out, at nine a. m., April 14th, the band playing "Yankee Doodle" and "Hail to the Chief."

Thus fell Sumter, at the fratricidal hands of our "Southern brethren." The place did not fall while there was a cartridge to fire or powder enough left to make one. Never did famished men work with greater determination, in the full knowledge of the fact that if they continued to hold the place there was not a biscuit to eat.

It was a remarkable fact that no life was lost on either side during this terrible cannonade. This, on the part of the fort must be attributed to the small number of men. They could all find shelter in the casemates, a larger number would only have suffered great havoc.

Major Anderson and his men, on their arrival North, were received with every honor due to their great merits.

While the expedition was on its way to Fort Sumter, the commotion in Washington was very great, and a company of military was, April 12th, introduced into the capital for the first time since the war of 1812, and the oath of allegiance was administered to the volunteers, General Scott setting the example.

The fleet which left New York, January 7th, under sealed orders, was supposed to be all destined for Fort Sumter, and that belief, no doubt, stimulated the attack by the Charleston forces. It turned out that the larger portion was for Fort Pickens, which was occupied by 283 men, and threatened by the enemy. The steamer Atlantic

arrived at Key West on the 13th, where she took in more troops. On the 14th she sailed for Tortugas and again added to the troops. On the 16th she arrived off Fort Pickens, and came to an anchor four miles from shore, and near the frigate Sabine.

After communicating with the commander and the naval captains present, and after dark, she weighed anchor and stood in with twenty boats of the fleet in tow, all lights being extinguished, until within three-fourths of a mile from the beach, where she anchored, in four fathoms of water, Fort Pickens being a mile distant. At a quarter past nine the first boat pushed off for the beach, with Colonel Brown and Captain Meigs, who were the first to meet and surprise the intrepid Slemmer and his command, who had held the place. Before midnight the majority of officers and soldiers were safely in the fort, and although a heavy surf was running during the night, no accident of any kind occurred.

On the 17th, the horses of Captain Barry's artillery were landed. In the afternoon of the same day the Powhattan arrived, and moved, in company with the Brooklyn, to cover the future landing. At midnight of the 19th, the Illinois arrived with 350 troops, under command of brevet Colonel Brooks, and the troops were landed next morning. The force on the island was now over 1,000 men, officered as follows :

#### THE UNITED STATES OFFICERS AT FORT PICKENS.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Reg't or Corps.
1	Harvey Brown, <i>a</i> . . . . .	Bvt. Colonel . . . . .	2d Artillery.
2	George L. Hartsuff, <i>b</i> . . . . .	Captain . . . . .	A. G. D.
3	Rufus Ingalls, <i>c</i> . . . . .	" . . . . .	Q. M. D.
4	Henry F. Clark, <i>d</i> . . . . .	" . . . . .	Sub. D.
5	John Campbell, <i>e</i> . . . . .	Asst. Surgeon . . . . .	M. D.
6	Zealous B. Tower, <i>f</i> . . . . .	Capt. and Bvt.-Maj. . . . .	Engineers.
7	George T. Balch, <i>g</i> . . . . .	1st Lieut. . . . .	Ordnance.

*a* Commanding Post and Department of Florida. Promoted to 4th Artillery.  
*b* Assistant Adjutant-General. *e* Chief Medical Officer  
*c* Chief Quartermaster. *f* Chief Engineer.  
*d* Chief Commissary. *g* Ordnance Officer

## OFFICERS BELONGING TO STAFF CORPS NOT ATTACHED TO THE DEPARTMENT STAFF.

N.	Names.	Rank.	Reg't or Corps.
8	Charles Sutherland .....	Asst. Surgeon.....	M. D.
9	Calvin G. Hollenbush .....	" .....	"
10	Chauncy B. Reese .....	Bvt. 2d Lieut. ....	Engineers.
11	Walter McFarland.....	" .....	"

## COMPANY OFFICERS.

12	Horace Brooks.....	Major and Bvt. Lt.-Col. ....	2d Artillery
13	Israel Vogdes.....	Captain.....	1st Artillery.
14	Wm. F. Barry.....	" .....	2d Artillery.
15	Henry J. Hunt .....	Capt. and Bvt. Maj. ....	2d Artillery.
16	Harvey A. Allen .....	Captain .....	"
17	Henry B. Clitz .....	" .....	3d Infantry.
18	James M. Robertson .....	1st Lieut. ....	2d Artillery.
19	John C. Tidball .....	" .....	"
20	Edward R. Platt .....	" .....	"
21	Adam J. Slemmer .....	" .....	1st Artillery
22	James Thompson.....	" .....	2d Artillery.
23	Alex. J. Perry .....	" .....	"
24	James C. Duane.....	" .....	Engineers.
25	Richard C. Duryea .....	" .....	1st Artillery.
26	Godfrey Weitzel .....	" .....	Engineers.
27	Loomis L. Langdon.....	" .....	1st Artillery.
28	Alex S. Webb.....	2d Lieut. ....	2d Artillery.
29	Guilford D. Bailey.....	" .....	"
30	Jeremiah H. Gilman .....	" .....	1st Artillery
31	John McL. Hilot .....	" .....	3d Infantry.
32	Alex. N. Shipley .....	" .....	"
33	James M. Whittemore .....	" .....	1st Artillery.
34	Wm. W. McCreery .....	" .....	4th Artillery.
35	A. C. M. Pennington .....	" .....	2d Artillery.
36	— Seeley .....	" .....	"
37	John A. Tardy .....	Bvt. 2d Lieut. ....	Engineers.

This successful operation, of reinforcing Fort Pickens, by the expedition, a part of which was to have succored Fort Sumter, was a very brilliant one, and made the holding of the place safe beyond any exertions of the enemy, who was gathering his force around it, under General Braxton Bragg,\* formerly of Buena Vista. Alas! how treason tarnishes the brightest fame.

\* Braxton Bragg, a native of North Carolina, entered West Point in 1832. He graduated in 1837, second-lieutenant in the third artillery; assistant commissary of subsistence in November, 1837; adjutant, December, 1837; first-lieutenant, July, 1838; brevet captain, for gallant conduct at Fort Brown, May, 1846; captain, June, 1846; brevet major, for gallant conduct at Monterey, September, 1846; and brevet lieutenant-colonel at Buena Vista. He resigned his place in the army in January, 1856. He is about forty-four years of age; major-general, Confederate army, in command at Pensacola, and afterward at Corinth.



## CHAPTER IV.

Effect of the Fall of Sumter.—Call for 75,000 Troops.—Congress convened.—Replies of States to the Call.—Confederacy makes a Call for Troops.—Privateers.—Blockade.—Seizure of Harper's Ferry.—Gosport Navy-Yard.—Destruction of Property.—Star of the West captured.—Missouri Arsenal.—Effect of the Proclamation at the North.—New York Troops.—Massachusetts.—Want of Arms.—Agents sent to Europe.—Baltimore Riot.—Massachusetts Sixth.—Effect at the North.—“Through Baltimore.”—General Scott.—Defence of Washington.—New Military Department.—New York Interests.—Departure of the Seventh.—Its arrival in Philadelphia.—Arrival at Annapolis.—Massachusetts Eighth.—March to Washington.—The Position of Maryland.—Maryland Legislature.—General Butler in Command.—Protest of the Governor.—Reply.—Legislative Committee wait on the President.

THE fall of Sumter produced a startling effect throughout the whole country. It would seem that, as the reverberation of the guns that had thundered against its walls, resounded in a dilating circle over the land, public enthusiasm was aroused and fixed. The magnitude of the fact that armed resistance to the power of the government was actually organized, on a large scale, seemed to burst upon the astonished North like a thunder-clap. Party lines at once disappeared, private interests and the pursuit of business were dropped as with one accord, and the people rallied like one man, to the support of that government the jeopardy of which they had not previously realized. When the news reached Washington, the President immediately issued a proclamation, calling out 75,000 of the militia of the several states of the Union, to “repossess the forts, places, and property which had been seized.” The persons resisting the operation of the laws were called upon to disperse within twenty

days, and Congress was, by the same document, convened for the 4th of July.

The President had thus assumed the power of calling out troops, depending upon the exigencies of the case for justification. The assembling of Congress, however, although the government was much embarrassed for means, was delayed for ten weeks. The effect of the proclamation at the South was, at once to consolidate the Confederacy. The dispatches from the war department, addressed to the governors of the several states, designated the quotas assigned to each state. The executives of the slave-holding states, with the exception of Maryland and Delaware, peremptorily refused to comply with the requisition, and Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee seceded and joined the Southern Confederacy, turning over their arms to it, and acceding to the new constitution. In response to the call, Governor Magoffin, of Kentucky, replied, that "Kentucky would furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern states." Governor Letcher, of Virginia, replied, that "the militia of Virginia will not be furnished to the powers at Washington to subjugate the South." Governor Ellis, of North Carolina, "that he could not respond to the call for troops, as he doubts of the legality of the call." Governor Harris, of Tennessee, that "Tennessee will furnish not a single man for coercion, but 50,000, if necessary, for the defence of our rights or those of our Southern brothers." Governor Jackson, of Missouri, that "the requisition is illegal, unconstitutional, revolutionary, inhuman, diabolical, and cannot be complied with."

The government of the Southern Confederacy issued a call for 32,000 men, 5,000 from each of the Confederate states except Florida, which was to furnish 2,000; and Jefferson Davis, on the 17th of April, issued a proclamation offering to grant letters of marque and reprisal to aid the Southern Confederacy "in resisting the wanton and wicked

aggressions" of the Federal government. This was immediately responded to by President Lincoln, in a proclamation, dated April 19th, declaring the Southern ports in a state of blockade. Jefferson Davis then convened the Southern Congress for the 1st of May.

The state of Virginia, as we have seen, immediately abandoned her doubtful policy and cast in her lot with the Confederacy, in accordance with the convention signed April 24th. The United States armory at Harper's Ferry, which had been the scene of John Brown's raid, contained 15,000 stand of arms, and was held by Lieutenant Jones with a force of forty men. On the 18th of April the place was seized by two or three thousand Virginia militia. The commander, Jones, had destroyed what he could, and retreated with his men across Maryland into Pennsylvania, having lost two men, killed. The Gosport navy-yard at Norfolk, Virginia, was the largest depot of arms in the United States. There were many first-class ships, some two thousand cannon, and arms and munitions valued at from \$20,000,000 to \$50,000,000. On the night of the 18th, there had been abstracted eight thousand kegs of powder from the arsenal, and the whole yard was in danger of falling into the hands of the Virginians, under General Taliaferro. It was therefore determined to destroy them. For this purpose, the Pawnee, lying at the wharf at Fort Monroe, received on board six hundred trusty men under Colonel Wardrop, of Massachusetts, and got under way at seven o'clock on Saturday evening, April 20th. There was a full moon, and although the channel to Norfolk had been obstructed by sunken vessels, she entered Gosport harbor at half-past eight o'clock. She was received with great joy by the men who had been imprisoned on board the Pennsylvania, 120 guns, and the frigate Cumberland.

The Pawnee made fast to the dock, and Colonel Wardrop marching out his regiment, stationed them at the several gates of the navy-yard to oppose any attempt to enter that might be made. The commodore then set the marines on

the Pennsylvania, the Cumberland, the Pawnee, and in the yard, to work. All the books and papers, the archives of the establishment, were transferred to the Pawnee.

Every thing on the Pennsylvania of interest to the government to preserve, was transferred to the Cumberland. Every thing on the Pennsylvania, on the Cumberland, and in the yard, that might be of immediate use to the Confederates was destroyed, among them, many thousand stands of arms. Carbines had their stocks broken by a blow from the barrels, and were thrown overboard. A large lot of revolvers shared the like fate. Shot and shell by thousands went with hurried plunge to the bottom. Most of the cannon had been spiked the day and night before. There were at least 1,500 cannon, of all sizes, many of which were Dahlgrens and Columbiads.

The work of destruction was unweariedly continued from nine o'clock until about twelve, during which time the moon gave light to direct the operations. But when the moon sank behind the horizon, the barracks near the centre of the yard were set on fire, that by the illumination the work might be continued. The steam-frigate Merrimac, 44 guns, was scuttled and sunk. But time was not left to complete the work. Four o'clock of Sunday morning came, and the Pawnee was passing down from Gosport harbor with the Cumberland in tow—every soul from the other ships and the yard being aboard of them, save two. Just as they left their moorings, a rocket was sent up from the deck of the Pawnee, and as it burst, the well-set trains at the ship-houses, and on the decks of the fated vessels left behind, went off as if lit simultaneously by the rocket. One of the ship-houses contained the old New York, thirty years on the stocks, and yet unfinished. The other was vacant; but both houses and the old New York burnt like tinder.

It was not thirty minutes from the time the trains were fired till the conflagration roared like a hurricane, and the flames from land and water swayed, and met, and mingled together, and darted high, and fell, and leaped up again,

showing by their very motion their sympathy with the crackling, crashing roar of destruction beneath. But in all this magnificent scene, the old ship *Pennsylvania* was the centre-piece. She was a very giant in death, as she had been in life. She was a sea of flame. Several of her guns were left loaded, but not shotted, and as the fire reached them they sent out on the startled air minute-guns of fearful peal.

As soon as the *Pawnee* and *Cumberland* had fairly left the waters, and were known to be gone, the gathering crowds of Portsmouth and Norfolk burst open the gates of the navy-yard and rushed in. As early as six o'clock, a volunteer company had taken formal possession in the name of Virginia, and run up her flag from the flagstaff. In another hour, several companies were on hand, and men were at work unspiking cannon, and by nine o'clock they were moving them to the dock, whence they were begun to be transferred, on keels, to points below, where sand-batteries were to be built.

On the 20th of April, the *Star of the West*, which had been fired upon on entering Charleston harbor, in the unsuccessful attempt to supply Fort Sumter, was sent to Indianola, Texas, to bring off the United States troops that had vacated the forts seized by the Texans. On leaving that port, the rebel Colonel Van Dorn, with eighty men of Galveston troops, went on board the *General Rusk* and steamed down to the *Star of the West*, as she lay off the bar. As they approached, Van Dorn's vessel was hailed, and he replied, "The *General Rusk* with troops." The captain of the *Star of the West* took it for granted that they were the troops he was expecting. But in a few moments his vessel was seized and sent into Galveston.

On the same day the Missourians seized on the United States arsenal at Liberty, Missouri, with 1,300 stands of arms, ten or twelve pieces of cannon and a stock of powder. Thus four important seizures were made on nearly the same day in remote quarters of the Union.

The effect of the President's proclamation calling for troops in the loyal North was electric. The citizens everywhere resolved themselves into relief and vigilance committees, the young and ardent rushed to arms, and the older and richer organized meetings, and subscribed with a liberal hand for equipping troops for the aid of the government. The authorities of the several cities held meetings and voted means, and the state executives convened the legislatures to provide for the exigencies of the nation. Governor Yates, of Illinois, convened the legislature for April 23d, to adopt such laws as were necessary for the more perfect equipment of the militia, and to render efficient assistance to the general government. Governor Buckingham, of Connecticut, issued a proclamation for troops to rendezvous at Hartford. New Hampshire promptly mustered her troops, and subscriptions of money from citizens and corporations were tendered on all hands. All the states set themselves eagerly to the work, and the troops first ready began to put themselves on the road to Washington.

The call of the President was for 75,000 of the state militia, which, under the laws of Congress, cannot be required to serve more than three months in the year. As Congress was not in session and the government mostly without means, it was evident that the troops must be equipped and forwarded at the states' expense. Accordingly most of the states immediately voted loans. The quota of New York was 13,000, but a bill passed the legislature in a few hours, authorizing 30,000 volunteers for two years, and creating a military board to organize them. On the 24th of April an agent was sent to England to buy 25,000 Enfield rifles. A loan was authorized for \$3,000,000, and the citizens subscribed large sums with a free hand. The common council of New York voted \$1,600,000, which was promptly advanced by the banks, and various public associations subscribed funds to equip the troops that were promptly mustering, and to aid their families.

The first ten regiments of three months' men marched in the following order :

				Arms.	Men.
April 19th,	7th regiment,	Colonel Lefferts,		muskets of 1842	1,050
" 21st,	6th "	" Pinckney,		" "	550
" 21st,	12th "	" Butterfield,		" "	900
" 21st,	71st "	" Vosburgh,		" "	950
" 23d,	8th "	" Lyons,		" "	900
" 23d,	13th "	" Smith,		" "	486
" 23d,	25th "	" Byron,		" "	500
" 27th,	5th "	" Schwarzwaelder,		" "	600
" 29th,	69th "	" Corcoran,		" "	1,050
" 30th,	28th "	" Bennett,		" "	563

State Militia, 7,549

The legislature of Massachusetts had, in anticipation of the results of the expedition to Fort Sumter, passed in March a bill appropriating \$25,000 to arm and equip 2,000 troops who were mostly ready to move. The call for troops was received April 15th, and two regiments mustered ready on the 16th. The third regiment, Colonel Wardrop, departed on the 17th for Fortress Monroe, where he arrived in time for the expedition to Gosport navy-yard on the 20th. The fourth and sixth regiments were also ordered forward at once, the former for Fortress Monroe and the sixth for Washington *via* New York.

The excitement in Baltimore was great. On the 18th the governor of Maryland issued a proclamation, exhorting to keep the peace, and assuring the people that no troops would be sent from Maryland unless to defend the national capital. On the same day the mayor issued a proclamation concurring with the governor. The rumors of approaching troops from other states were, however, stirring up the people, who were preparing to resist the sixth Massachusetts regiment, which started on the 17th, passed through New York on the 18th, in a sort of triumphal march, and on the morning of the 19th arrived in Baltimore, occupying eleven cars, at the President street depot. There was also a portion of the seventh Pennsylvania in company with them. They were permitted to proceed



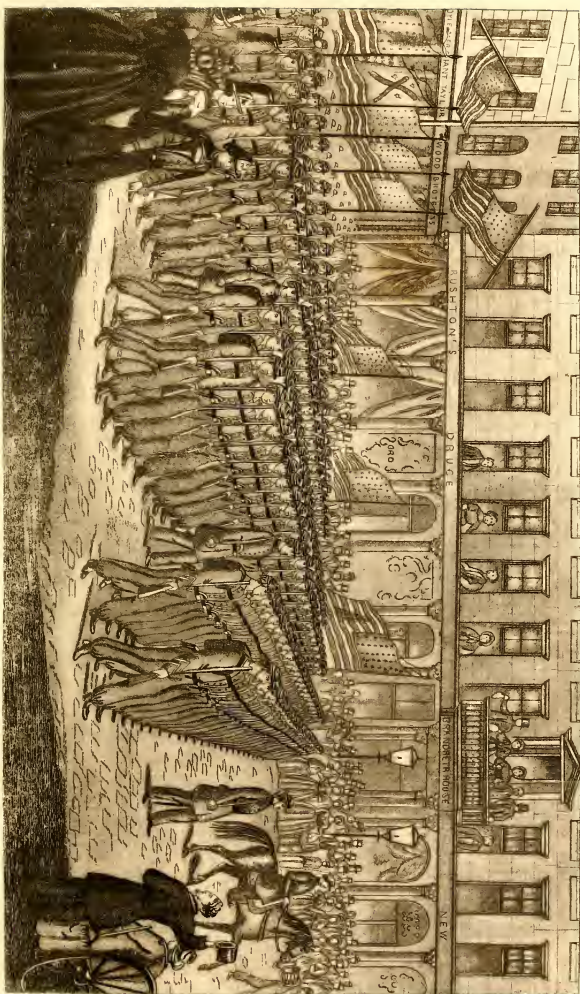
through the streets a short distance, when the crowd gathered so densely as to obstruct the passage. The troops remained quiet for a short time, when the infuriated mob assailed them with stones, bricks, and other missiles, wounding many of the soldiers. Nine cars pushed through and started for Washington. The two rear cars were cut off, and one hundred soldiers found themselves surrounded by a raging mob, 8,000 strong. Many of the soldiers had their guns snatched from them. The men then alighted, formed a solid square, with fixed bayonets, and with the mayor of Baltimore at their head, advanced in double quick time. The news now spread that the Pennsylvania men had arrived. The report fearfully excited the mob, which was rapidly swelling in numbers and ferocity, and the shower of missiles upon the troops momentarily thickened, interspersed with shots of revolvers and discharges from the muskets taken from the soldiers. As the wounded soldiers dropped they were taken into the centre, sustained by their comrades, and the column pushed on. Two were now dead and many wounded, when some of the exasperated soldiers returned the fire by single shots. After a severe and protracted struggle, the men finally gained the depot, and immediately embarked, carrying with them in triumph their three dead and thirty-eight wounded. Seven of the rioters were killed and an unknown number wounded. The Pennsylvanians were also attacked and many wounded; as they were unarmed, they were sent back whence they came.

The mob now ruled supreme. The gun-shops were plundered, other stores closed, and a public meeting summoned for the afternoon. The mayor and governor both notified the President that no more troops could pass through Baltimore, and also advised the President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad that the troops now there should be sent back, which was done. The mob then waited at Canton for the train coming from Philadelphia. On its arrival the passengers were compelled to alight, the

mob then went in the train to Gunpowder Bridge, which they burned, and then returning burned Cushman Bridge and Canton Bridge.

The news of this conflict, as it flew north, caused great commotion. The Northern blood boiled with indignation, and all rushed to save the capital of the nation. Troops hastened their preparations to press forward and force a passage to the seat of government. The fact did not fail to impress itself on the public mind, that this first conflict, in this great strife, was the anniversary of the day, the 19th of April, 1775, when the Massachusetts yeomen drew the first blood, from the invading English, at Lexington. The lineal representatives of these men, after a lapse of eighty-six years, were the first to open the war on the soil of Maryland. The deep movement of the popular passions was manifest in many ways. The national flag, which had gone down before the guns of the enemy, became at once the emblem of patriotism and of decided purpose. It fluttered from every building, and was borne by every person. The stopping of the highway to the capital served to give point to the public purpose, and "through Baltimore" became a rallying cry. General Scott, at Washington, immediately took measures to open the communication on that side. The news had no sooner reached him than he issued a general order, adding Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania to the military department of Washington, and placing Major-General Patterson, of the Pennsylvania volunteers, in command, with orders to post Pennsylvania troops all along the line, from Wilmington, Delaware, to Washington city.

The enthusiasm in New York was very demonstrative, showing a great contrast to the apparent apathy that had prevailed since its long continued efforts to effect some compromise, had ceased to be of any avail. The political sentiment as well as the material interests of New York were ever eminently conservative. Her geographical position had made her the commercial centre of the Union,



201409 TRAINING FOR THE WAR

"Through Baltimore," was the rallying cry, and the hurrying tread of departing armed and determined men was drowned amid the cheers and acclamations of the animated throng, which peopled house-top, street, and wharf, alive with flags and banners, and choral with patriotic strains. Every Northern state, and every condition of life sent its enthusiastic patriots crowding to the front, as it were, to meet the national foes, and defend the old stars and stripes, that, born of independence, had so often been flung to the breeze in the strife for liberty. Massachusetts, in six days from the date of the President's call, had six regiments on the way, including a battalion of rifles, and a corps of flying artillery. Rhode Island had sent two under Governor Sprague. New York had sent seven. This Northern "avant-garde," as they passed on, were joined by the troops of Ohio and Pennsylvania. In Indiana six regiments were raised, and mustered into service in a week after the call was made. All the other states were prompt and effective in their aid. The living stream poured on by rail and flood, and Baltimore, which had, under the bad impulse of the moment, attempted to stay its course, only caused by its resistance an accumulation of force that threatened to sweep the city from existence.

The New York seventh arrived in Philadelphia at four o'clock, A. M. They remained on the cars awaiting orders from the colonel. The universal desire of the regiment was to push through, and emulate the gallant Massachusetts men if it did not avenge them. The difficulties that presented themselves were, however, very grave. The bridges were burned in many places, the rails torn up forty miles from Baltimore, and the road was commanded by the mob, to quell which was no part of the business in hand. The great object was to throw a force into Washington, which should protect the government; that once safe, the riot would be taken in hand in its turn. To effect that object, it was necessary to go round Baltimore, and at four A. M., April 20th, the regiment embarked on the

steamer *Boston*, and in the afternoon of the 22d, landed at Annapolis, in company with the eighth Massachusetts under General Butler, from on board the *Maryland*, which had been run aground, as was alleged, through the treachery of her captain. The regiment was quartered in the naval school. The Massachusetts men, through the most abominable neglect and incapacity of those who should have attended to it, were nearly in a state of starvation. On the 23d, General Butler took military possession of the Annapolis and Elkridge Railroad; and on the same day the seventy-first New York arrived. On the morning of the 24th the troops began their march to Washington, at eight A. M. This very remarkable march was matter of astonishment to the most experienced officers.

The track had been torn up between Annapolis and the Junction, and here it was that the wonderful qualities of the Massachusetts eighth regiment came out. The locomotives had been taken to pieces by the inhabitants, in order to prevent the march. Up stepped a Massachusetts volunteer, who looked at the piecemeal engine, took up a flange, and remarked, coolly, "I made this engine, and I can put it together again." Engineers were wanted when the engine was ready; nineteen stepped out of the ranks. The rails were torn up; practical railroad-makers out of the regiment laid them again; and all this without care or food. These brave boys were starving while they were doing this good work. As they marched along the track that they had laid, they greeted the New York seventh with ranks of smiling but hungry faces. One boy said, with a laugh on his young lips, "that he had not eaten any thing for thirty hours." There was not a haversack in the seventh regiment that was not emptied into the hands of these ill-treated heroes, nor a flask that was not at their disposal.

The march continued until the next morning, with a short halt here and there. There were two roads to Washington; one by the rail track, and the other the common



road. The commander had information that the latter was beset by parties of cavalry intending to cut off the march, which was therefore directed by the railroad. The sleepers made the travel terribly fatiguing, and as the road required to be explored, inch by inch, exceedingly slow. But the troops finally reached Washington, and succeeding regiments following by the same route, soon insured the safety of the capital.

The position of Maryland had been from the first very critical. She had sympathized strongly with the Southern states, yet she had a large conservative element, which was manifest in her vote at the presidential election. The total vote cast in the state had been 92,502. Of these, 42,482 had been cast for the Southern candidate, and 41,760 were given to Mr. Bell, the Union candidate. Of the remainder, Mr. Lincoln received 2,294. When the difficulties thickened, it was evident that, in case of a conflict, Maryland, with her small resources and exposed situation, would suffer greatly. Her governor, Hicks, strongly opposed secession in an address to the people in January. He refused to convene the legislature, saying :

“I firmly believe that a division of this government would inevitably produce civil war. The secession leaders in South Carolina, and the fanatical demagogues of the North, have alike proclaimed that such would be the result, and no man of sense, in my opinion, can question it. What could the legislature do in this crisis, if convened, to remove the present troubles which beset the Union ?

\* \* \* \* \*

“That Maryland is a conservative Southern state all know who know any thing of her people or her history. The business and agricultural classes, planters, merchants, mechanics, and laboring men ; those who have a real stake in the community, who would be forced to pay the taxes and do the fighting, are the persons who should be heard in preference to excited politicians, many of whom have nothing to lose from the destruction of the government, may hope to derive some gain from the ruin of the state. Such men will naturally urge you to pull down the pillars of this ‘accursed Union,’ which their allies at the North have denominated a ‘covenant with hell.’ The people of Maryland, if left to themselves, would decide, with scarcely an exception, that there is nothing in the present causes of complaint to justify immediate secession.”

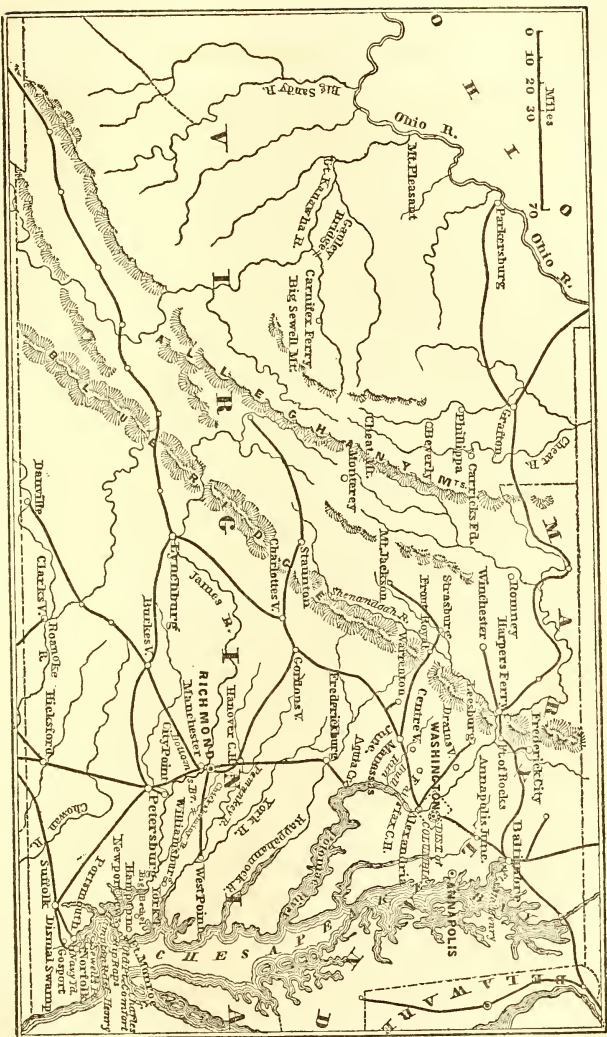
Notwithstanding that the legislature did not meet, the excitement in the state, particularly in Baltimore, continued very great. Upon the receipt of the first call for troops, the governor wrote to the secretary of war to be informed if the troops were to be used solely in the limits of the state, and for the protection of the national capital. He was informed that the troops were only for the defence of the capital. The secretary of war, also, April 18th, notified him that fears were entertained that the passage of the troops through Baltimore would be obstructed, and hoped the state authorities would prevent it. The governor on the 20th replied, that the mob had control, that the military fraternized with them, therefore he declined sending troops, and insisted that no more should be sent through Maryland. The government replied, that the troops would be sent round Baltimore. On the 22d, the governor repeated his request in respect to troops, and suggested that Lord Lyons "should be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties of our country." The secretary of state replied, declining foreign mediation, and affirmed the right to send troops through Maryland. The governor repeatedly protested against landing troops at Annapolis, the capital of the state, and the military occupation of the railroad which connects that city with Washington, inasmuch as that he had convened the legislature to meet, and the occupancy of the road would prevent the members from arriving. On the 25th of April, a new military department was formed, called the Department of Annapolis, headquarters in that city. It included twenty miles on each side of the railroad to Washington, as far as Bladensburgh; Brigadier-General Benjamin F. Butler, in command. The general replied to the protest of the governor, that his troops were in Maryland to maintain the laws and preserve peace; that he had taken possession of the road because threats had been made to destroy it, in case troops passed over it. He said, also, that there were rumored apprehensions of a



negro insurrection, and offered his services to suppress it. The governor replied, that the citizens could take care of themselves. The occupation of Annapolis by the troops, induced the legislature to meet at Frederick, on the 27th of April. The governor in his message advised neutrality, so that Maryland might not be the scene of war. The action of the legislature was not so moderate, however. A bill passed the senate investing the military power of the state in a board of public safety, of which the majority were in favor of secession. This movement not being entirely popular, the bill was recommitted. A committee of the legislature was then appointed to visit the President, and after admitting the right of the government to send troops through Maryland, expressed the belief that no more resistance would be offered.

The tone in Baltimore now began to change, becoming more conservative. At Hagerstown, the Union flag was raised, and also at Frederick. The home guard paraded with it. The conservative public exerted its influence, and the vote, April 30th was, 13 for secession and 53 against it.

The troops from all quarters continued to accumulate at Annapolis, under General Butler. On the 5th of May, he advanced and occupied the Relay House, nine miles from Baltimore, planting eight howitzers on the viaduct, and investing the entire neighborhood. This being the point of junction of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, with the Washington branch, it commands the road to the West. On the 8th he issued general orders. On the 9th, the steamer Maryland and transports, arrived at Locust Point, with five companies, 420 men, of the third infantry, Sherman's battery, six pieces, and 800 men of the first Pennsylvania artillery. They were placed in the cars, and went off without disturbance. On the following day, an attempt was made to send a steam-gun, invented by Mr. Winans, of Baltimore, to Harper's Ferry; but the gun and those in charge of it, were arrested by order of General



Butler. Order was now so far restored, that travel was resumed through Baltimore. On Monday, May 13th, a train from Philadelphia passed through with the national flag displayed, and numbers were hung out from stores and dwellings. On the following day, the first Pennsylvania passed through Baltimore fully equipped. In the afternoon of the same day, a train from the Relay House arrived in Baltimore with the sixth Massachusetts, and the eighth New York regiments, with a battery. They marched through South Baltimore and took possession of Federal Hill, a high point commanding both the city and Fort McHenry, which is east of it, one mile distant. Here General Butler fixed his headquarters, and issued a proclamation intended to soothe the conquered citizens of Baltimore. He also demanded the delivery of a quantity of arms stored in the city, which was acceded to, and the Federal authority became fully established. On the 15th of May, the star-spangled banner was raised once more over the post-office and custom-house.

## CHAPTER V.

Confederate Congress.—Davis's Message.—Resources of the Confederacy.—Arms and Forts made over by States.—Laws of Congress.—Troops.—Virginia.—General R. Lee.—Invasion of Virginia.—General Beauregard.—Proclamation.—North Carolina Proclamation.—Vote of Tennessee.—Border States Convention.—Adjournment of Confederate Congress.—Post-Office.—Western Virginia.—Convention.—State Re-organization.—Recognized by the President.

ACCORDING to the proclamation of Jefferson Davis, the Confederate Congress met at Montgomery, Alabama, April 29th, and Mr. Davis delivered a message which opened with assurances that the constitution framed for the establishment of a permanent government for the Confederate States, had been ratified by conventions in each of those states to which it was referred. To inaugurate the government in its full proportions and upon its own substantial basis of the popular will, it only remained that elections should be held for the designation of the officers to administer it.

He stated that the declaration of war made against the Confederacy by the United States President, in his proclamation of April 15th, made it necessary to convene the Congress at the earliest possible moment. He went through the course of events that from the formation of the government, had been gradually producing the present state of affairs, and recounted the circumstances that had attended the mission of the commissioners to Washington. The reply of the government, rendered only April 8th, although dated March 15th, had, he said, been withheld, while assurances calculated to inspire hope in the success of the mission had been made.

"That these assurances were given, has been virtually confessed by the government of the United States by its sending a messenger to Charleston, to give notice of its purpose to use force, if opposed in its intention of supplying Fort Sumter. No more striking proof of the absence of good faith in the conduct of the government of the United States toward this Confederacy can be required, than is contained in the circumstances which accompanied this notice. According to the usual course of navigation, the vessels composing the expedition designed for the relief of Fort Sumter, might be expected to reach Charleston harbor on the 9th of April; yet with our commissioners actually in Washington, detained under assurances that notice should be given of any military movement, the notice was not addressed to them, but a messenger was sent to Charleston, to give notice to the governor of South Carolina, and the notice was so given at a late hour on the 8th of April, the eve of the very day on which the fleet might be expected to arrive. That this manœuvre failed in its purpose was not the fault of those who contrived it. A heavy tempest delayed the arrival of the expedition and gave time to the commander of our forces at Charleston to ask and receive the instructions of this government. Even then, under all the provocation incident to the contemptuous refusal to listen to our commissioners, and the tortuous course of the government of the United States, I was sincerely anxious to avoid the effusion of blood, and directed a proposal to be made to the commander of Fort Sumter, who had avowed himself to be nearly out of provisions, that we would abstain from directing our fire on Fort Sumter, if he would promise not to open fire on our forces unless first attacked. This proposal was refused, and the conclusion was reached that the design of the United States was to place the besieging force of Charleston between the simultaneous fire of the fleet and the fort. There remained, therefore, no alternative but to direct that the fort should at once be reduced."

Mr. Davis then proceeded to recount the contents of the proclamation of President Lincoln, and the mandates of that document were received with "shouts of laughter."

"Apparently contradictory," said Mr. Davis, "as are the terms of this singular document, one point was unmistakably evident. The President of the United States called for an army of seventy-five thousand men, whose first service was to be to capture our forts. It was a plain declaration of war which I was not at liberty to disregard, because of my knowledge that under the constitution of the United States, the President was usurping a power granted exclusively to the Congress."

He advised the immediate passage of a law authorizing the acceptance of proposals for privateers. He denounced the proclamation of the United States in relation to Southern ports, as a mere paper blockade. He stated, that under the law authorizing a loan of \$5,000,000, a call

was promptly answered by offers of more than \$8,000,000 at par, and the whole was accepted. Mr. Davis said, that a much larger amount was now become necessary to defray the expenses of the war.

"There are now in the field at Charleston, Pensacola, Forts Morgan, Jackson, St. Philip, and Pulaski, nineteen thousand men, and sixteen thousand are now *en route* for Virginia. It is proposed to organize and hold in readiness for instant action, in view of the present exigencies of the country, an army of one hundred thousand men."

In the Confederate army there was but one grade of general—that of brigadier-general, but in the state organization, there were major-generals, and Mr. Davis advised the equalizing the rank. He concluded :

"We feel that our cause is just and holy ; we protest solemnly in the face of mankind that we desire peace at any sacrifice, save that of honor and independence ; we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no concession of any kind from the States with which we were lately confederated ; all we ask is to be left alone ; that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, this we must resist to the direst extremity. The moment that this pretension is abandoned, the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that cannot but be mutually beneficial. So long as this pretension is maintained, with a firm reliance on that Divine Power which covers with its protection the just cause, we will continue to struggle for our inherent right to freedom, independence, and self-government."

The military resources of the Confederacy were mostly those which they had derived from the Federal government. Each state had seized the forts, arsenals, and munitions of war that were within its limits. These were as follows :

Where located.	Cost.	War garrison, No. of Men.	No. of Guns.
*Fort McHenry, Baltimore.....	\$146,000	350	74
*Fort Carroll, Baltimore.....	135,000	800	159
*Fort Delaware, Delaware River, Del.....	539,000	750	151
*Fort Madison, Annapolis, Md.....	15,000	150	31
*Fort Severn, Maryland.....	6,000	60	14
*Fort Washington, Potomac River.....	575,000	400	88
*Fort Monroe, Old Point Comfort, Va.....	2,400,000	2,450	371
Fort Calhoun, Hampton Roads, Norfolk, Va.....	1,664,000	1,120	224
Fort Macon, Beaufort, N. C.....	460,000	300	61
Fort Johnson, Cape Fear, Wilmington, N. C.....	5,000	60	10

Where located.	Cost.	War garrison, No. of men.	No. of Guns.
Fort Caswell, Oak Island, N. C. ....	\$571,000	400	81
Fort Sumter, Charleston, S. C. ....	677,000	650	146
Castle Pinckney, Charleston, S. C. ....	43,000	100	25
Fort Moultrie, Charleston, S. C. ....	75,000	300	54
Fort Pulaski, Savannah, Ga. ....	923,000	800	150
Fort Jackson, Savannah, Ga. ....	80,000	70	14
Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Fla. ....	51,000	100	25
*Fort Taylor, Key West. ....	—	1,000	185
*Fort Jefferson, Tortugas. ....	—	1,500	298
Fort Barrancas, Pensacola. ....	315,000	250	49
Redoubt, Pensacola. ....	109,000	—	26
*Fort Pickens, Pensacola. ....	759,000	1,260	212
Fort McRea, Pensacola. ....	384,000	650	151
Fort Morgan, Mobile. ....	1,212,000	700	132
Fort St. Philip, Mouth of Mississippi River. ....	143,000	600	124
Fort Jackson, Mouth of Mississippi River. ....	817,000	600	150
Fort Pike, Rigolets, La. ....	472,000	300	49
Fort Macomb, Chef Menteur, La. ....	447,000	300	49
Fort Livingston, Barataria Bay, La. ....	342,000	300	52

In addition to these were incomplete works at Ship Island, Mississippi River; Georgetown, S. C.; Port Royal Roads, S. C.; Tybee Island, Savannah; Galveston, Brazos, San-tiago, and Matagorda Bay, Texas.

Hampton Roads is the great naval depot station and rendezvous of the Southern coasts, and the only good roadstead on the Atlantic, south of the Delaware.

Pensacola is very strong, and the only good harbor for vessels of war, and the only naval depot, on the gulf.

The fortresses at Key West and Tortugas on the southern point of Florida are among the most powerful in the world; and every vessel that crosses the gulf, passes in sight of both.

With the exception of Fort McHenry, Fort Pickens, and others marked \*, all these had passed into the possession of the Confederates. Each state in succession, then, by ordinance, turned this property over to the Confederate government. Thus, the state of Georgia did, on the 20th of March, 1861, by an ordinance of her convention, authorize the Confederate States of America to occupy all public sites, with their appurtenances, within the limits of the



state, and lately in possession of the United States, until the ordinance should be repealed by a convention of the people of said state. By another ordinance of same date and authority, the control of all military operations in said state was transferred to the Confederate States, also the arms and munitions of war acquired from the United States and then remaining in the forts and arsenals; also such arms, munitions of war, armed vessels or steamers belonging to said state, as in his judgment might be expedient, and upon such terms as should be agreed upon. On the same day Texas made similar transfers. On the 8th of April South Carolina, and on the 6th of May Arkansas handed over to the Confederate government United States property which they had seized. On the 5th of June North Carolina did the same thing. Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi followed the same course. The Confederate government had thus at its disposal all that in those states had belonged to the United States. After the proclamation of the President, calling for troops, an effort was made to force the border states into secession, and the rebel leaders began to send troops into those states. Congress, at its extra session, proceeded to pass such laws as the exigencies of the times required. Among these was the act to extend the army organization over Kentucky, Missouri and Maryland, and to authorize the President to accept such troops as offered themselves without the formality of a call upon the states. On the 6th of May an act was passed by the Confederate Congress, recognizing the existence of war with the United States, and authorizing the President of the Confederate States to use the whole land and naval forces, and to issue letters of marque, and prescribing regulations for the conduct of privateers. Another act prohibited the export of cotton or cotton yarn from any of the Confederate States except through their seaports, under penalty of a forfeiture of the cotton, a fine of \$5,000, and six months' imprisonment. This did not apply to exports through Mexico. The act was to continue in

force as long as the blockade should last. This Congress also proposed that the planters should be invited to put their crops into the hands of the government, receiving bonds for their value. Meantime the Confederate troops continued to pour into Virginia, which was divided into twenty-two military districts, irregularly disposed, as upon the two sides of a right-angled triangle, the base line extending along the James river and its parallels, from Norfolk westwardly, up in the interior some two hundred miles to Lynchburg, and the hypotenuse extending from Lynchburg—in an irregular line—some hundred and fifty miles northeastwardly to Harper's Ferry. The other side or perpendicular of this extensive triangle—to wit, the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries—was occupied by the armies and naval forces of the United States. Beginning with the base line at Norfolk, and going round to Harper's Ferry, it appears that the Confederate forces were thus distributed:

At Norfolk and the numerous strategic positions immediately around it.....	10,000
Higher up, some twenty miles, on James river.....	1,000
Near the outlets of the York and Rappahannock.....	7,000
At Petersburg and Burksville.....	6,000
At Richmond.....	8,000
At Lynchburg.....	25,000
At Gordonsville, Charlottesville, Staunton, and Lexington....	8,000
At Fredericksburg.....	8,000
At Culpepper Court House.....	2,000
At Dumfries and Aquia Creek.....	2,000
At Leesburg.....	3,000
At Harper's Ferry and Point of Rocks.....	13,000
Total rebel forces in Virginia.....	93,000

On the 10th of May, General Robert Lee, of Virginia, was placed in command, and officers in Virginia were ordered to report by letter to R. S. Garnett, Adjutant-General. In the mean time the Federal troops had concentrated in great numbers; an advance took place into Virginia on the 23d of May. This event caused an immense excitement at the South. In Virginia, particularly, the

call to arms was vigorously sounded, and from all quarters troops began to concentrate to defend the approaches to Richmond. Brigadier-General G. T. Beauregard assumed the command of the Confederate troops in the department of Alexandria, and on the 1st of June issued the following remarkable proclamation:

A PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTIES OF LONDON, FAIRFAX, AND PRINCE WILLIAM.

"HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF ALEXANDRIA,  
"CAMP PICKENS, June 1st, 1861.

"A reckless and unprincipled tyrant has invaded your soil. Abraham Lincoln, regardless of all moral, legal and constitutional restraints, has thrown his abolition hosts among you, who are murdering and imprisoning your citizens, confiscating and destroying your property, and committing other acts of violence and outrage too shocking and revolting to humanity to be enumerated.

"All rules of civilized warfare are abandoned, and they proclaim by their acts, if not on their banners, that their war-cry is 'Beauty and Booty.' All that is dear to man—your honor and that of your wives and daughters—your fortunes and your lives, are involved in this momentous contest.

"In the name, therefore, of the constituted authorities of the Confederate States—in the sacred cause of constitutional liberty and self-government, for which we are contending—in behalf of civilization itself, I, G. T. Beauregard, Brigadier-General of the Confederate States, commanding at Camp Pickens, Manassas Junction, do make this my proclamation, and invite and enjoin you by every consideration dear to the hearts of freemen and patriots, by the name and memory of your revolutionary fathers, and by the purity and sanctity of your domestic firesides, to rally to the standard of your state and country, and by every means in your power compatible with honorable warfare, to drive back and expel the invaders from your land.

"I conjure you to be true and loyal to your country and her legal and constitutional authorities, and especially to be vigilant of the movements and acts of the enemy, so as to enable you to give the earliest authentic information at these headquarters, or to the officers under this command.

"I desire to assure you that the utmost protection in my power will be given to you all.

"G. T. BEAUREGARD,  
"Brigadier-General commanding.  
"THOMAS JORDAN, *Acting Asst. Adjt.-Gen.*"

This mendacious and vindictive proclamation found ready believers and hearty sympathizers in the misguided masses, who were then gathering at Manassas Junction.

At this period, General Beauregard was thus described by a military visitor:

"I have had the pleasure of a good look at Beauregard at his headquarters. They were at tea; he was sitting with his cap on, and his aids about him. Beauregard is a small, well-knit figure of a man, with a sanguine-bilious face, a thoughtful eye, that seems looking above the horizon of other men's mental operations, and withal impresses you with the confidence of one perfectly self-reliant and self-poised. He is plain and simple in manner, prompt in action, and commands the entire respect of all about him. The camp has assumed a much more military and systematic form since his arrival. His military character and energy have already stamped themselves upon the heretofore singular mass of men, muscle, and bayonets that were assembled here.

"The following were the names of the subordinate officers of Beauregard's command:

"Colonel Thomas Jordan, P. A. V., acting assistant adjutant-general.

"Captain Clifton H. Smith, P. A. V., assistant adjutant-general.

"Lieutenant S. W. Ferguson, C. S. A., aide-de-camp.

"Major Thomas H. Williamson, P. A. V., chief engineer.

"Major W. L. Cabell, C. S. N., chief quartermaster.

"Captain W. H. Fowle, P. A. V., chief commissary of subsistence.

"Surgeon J. McF. Gaston, medical director.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Jones, P. A. V., chief of artillery and ordnance.

"Colonels A. R. Chisholm, J. L. Manning, William Porcher Miles, Joseph Hayward, J. S. Preston, volunteer aides-de-camp.

"Colonel Territt takes charge of a brigade, and Major Thomas Rhett is adjutant.

"Among the several brigade commanders were the following:—First, General Bonham; second, General D. R. Jones; third, General R. S. Ewell; fourth, Colonel Territt; fifth, Colonel Cocke; sixth, Colonel Early."

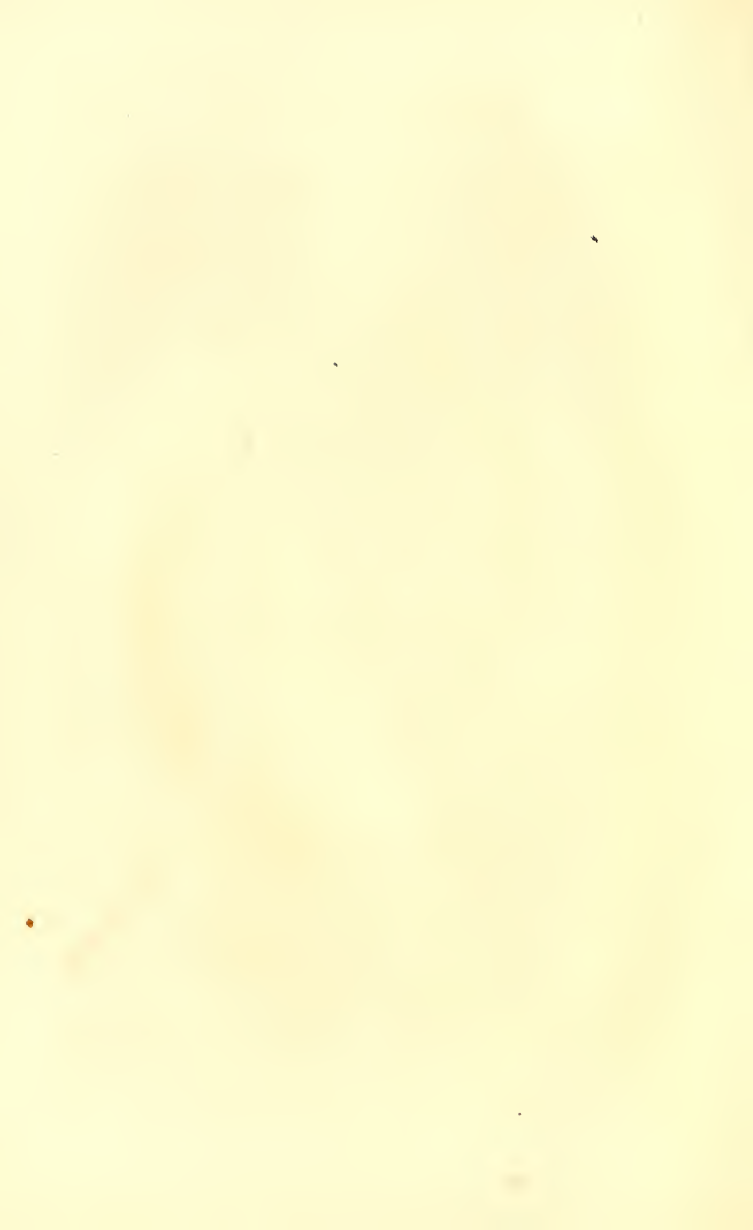
Throughout the counties of Virginia, within fifty miles of Harper's Ferry, a militia draft was made, by which three-tenths of all persons between eighteen and fifty years of age were mustered in the field. The mode of draft was to put the names in one box and ten numbers in another. When a name was called a number was drawn, and if it was odd, or 1, 2, or 3, the man was elected to serve.

Such was the force that the Confederates had collected, and whose advance-guard was now, under Beauregard, to fortify Manassas Junction.

On the promulgation of the proclamation of the Presi-



GEN. SCOTT AS HE APPEARED IN MEXICO



dent of the United States calling for troops, the remaining Southern States passed their acts of secession and joined the Confederacy. In Arkansas, on the 18th of April, the ordinance of secession had been framed, to submit to the people in August. But on the 6th of May the convention again met, and passed the ordinance and joined the Confederacy unanimously. In North Carolina the same course was adopted on the 21st of May. The proclamation of Governor Ellis, convening the legislature for the 1st of May, had the following preamble:

"*Whereas*, By proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, followed by a requisition of Simon Cameron, secretary of war, I am informed that the said Abraham Lincoln has made a call for 75,000 men, to be employed for the invasion of the peaceful homes of the South, and for the violent subversion of the liberties of a free people, constituting a large part of the whole population of the late United States; and, *whereas*, this high-handed act of tyrannical outrage is not only in violation of all constitutional law, utter disregard of every sentiment of humanity and Christian civilization, and conceived in a spirit of aggression unparalleled by any act of recorded history, but is a direct step toward the subjugation of the whole South, and the conversion of a free republic inherited from our fathers, into a military despotism, to be established by worse than foreign enemies, on the ruins of our once glorious constitution of equal rights."

This extraordinary production of the governor of one of the most conservative states is indicative of the spirit which actuated the Southern leaders. They had staked every thing upon a contest, and were determined to drive their people into the rebellion. In Tennessee a declaration of separate independence was passed by the legislature, to be submitted to the people June 8th; but a month before an agreement was made with H. W. Hilliard, the Confederate Commissioner, handing over the state to the Confederacy. Troops were stationed at the polls to overawe Union voters, and thus the vote for "separation" was raised to 104,913 against 47,238 for "no separation." In Kentucky Governor Magoffin, by proclamation, forbade all citizens to take part against either side.

A border states convention was held at Frankfort, Kentucky, but Virginia, North Carolina, and Arkansas, having



joined the Confederacy, did not send delegates, neither did Maryland. One appeared from Tennessee and four from Missouri, to meet those of Kentucky. Senator Crittenden was chosen president. Two addresses were adopted, one to the people of the United States and the other to the people of Kentucky. The first proposed such amendments to the constitution as should secure the rights of slaveholders, or on the failure of that to call a convention of all the states to devise means of peaceable adjustment. The other address defended the course of the executive in refusing troops to the United States, professed strong attachment to the Union, but urged the necessity of neutrality. It condemned the course of the Southern states in withdrawing from the Union, and expressed the determination of Kentucky to adhere to it. In Missouri Governor Jackson and the legislature endeavored to take the state out of the Union; but the state convention called to promote secession proved loyal, and deposed both the governor and the legislature.

The Southern Confederacy was thus concentrating its interests gradually, and the new machinery of its government was coming more decidedly into action in place of the Federal authority. The Congress, having made all necessary provision, adjourned on the 20th of May, to meet at Richmond, the proposed future seat of government, on the 20th of July. The finances and military forces had been provided for as far as possible, and the new postmaster-general, Henry T. Ellett, took charge of the transmission of mails in the Confederate States, June 1st. The postmaster-general of the United States announced that on that day postal communication would close with the seceding states, with the exception of some counties in Western Virginia.

The action of Western Virginia forms a remarkable episode to the course of events. On the vote upon secession, the western counties gave a majority against it. In the north-western part of the state, or "pan-handle," a narrow

slip which runs up between Pennsylvania and Ohio, the vote was largely for the Union. A convention of these western counties was held at Wheeling on the 13th of May, at which resolutions were passed pronouncing the ordinance of secession null and void. The convention adjourned, to meet June 12th. When it assembled on that day, Arthur J. Boreman was chosen permanent chairman, and about one-third of the counties of the state were represented. A resolution, proposing a division of the state of Virginia, and the organization of the counties represented into a new state, was, after much debate, rejected, by a vote of 57 to 17. There was subsequently passed a declaration and ordinance for reorganizing the government of the state. The declaration set forth that the Richmond convention was unconstitutional and its proceedings void. The ordinance for the reorganization of the state government provides that the delegates elected in May, and the senators who shall appear and qualify, should constitute the legislature of the state. An oath of allegiance to the United States was prescribed, and all offices held by persons who failed to take that oath were declared vacant. Frank H. Pierpont was elected governor and Daniel Paisley lieutenant-governor. Governor Pierpont, on taking the oath of office, delivered a speech, in which he thus defined the position of the western counties :

"We have been driven into the position we occupy to-day by the usurpers at the South, who have inaugurated this war upon the soil of Virginia, and have made it the great Crimea of this contest. We, representing the loyal citizens of Virginia, have been bound to assume the position we have assumed to-day, for the protection of ourselves, our wives, our children, and our property. We, I repeat, have been driven to assume this position, and now we are but recurring to the great fundamental principle of our fathers, that to the loyal people of a state belongs the law-making power of that state. The loyal people are entitled to the government and governmental authority of the state. And, fellow-citizens, it is the assumption of that authority upon which we are now about to enter."

To this speech, and the action of the western counties, the rebel governor, Letcher, replied, in a proclamation

under date of June 14th, 1861, in which he urged the inherent right of the commonwealth of Virginia to separate itself from the United States, institute a new government, and ally itself to the Confederate States. The people of Western Virginia, he contended, had united in the vote on the question of secession, and being overborne by the majority in the other counties, it was their duty to submit to the will of the majority without factious opposition. He announced his intention of maintaining the position of Virginia as a member of the Confederacy by force of arms, and then proceeded to adduce as reasons why the western counties should unite with the eastern in fighting against the Union, the intermixture of the blood of the east and the west, the friendships hallowed by a thousand cherished recollections and memories of the past, and the relics of the great men of other days. He appealed also to their pecuniary interests, reminding them that the unequal taxation from which they had so long suffered, had been modified in their favor, and that this magnanimity on the part of the eastern counties, ought to awaken their gratitude and secure their attachment.

The appeals, threats, and blandishments of Governor Letcher proved alike unavailing. The western counties remained loyal, and at the extra session of Congress two senators, Messrs. Carlile and Willey, appointed by their legislature, were admitted to seats in the Senate of the United States.

## CHAPTER VI.

Troops concentrated at Washington.—Aspect of the War.—Troops Mustered.—Arrived in Washington in April and May.—Difficulty of Arming.—Popular Impatience.—Arms bought in Europe.—Necessity of Forward Movement.—Occupation of Alexandria.—Ellsworth's Zouaves.—Arlington Heights.—Death of Ellsworth.—General in Command.—Proclamation.—Operations in Virginia.—Aquia Creek.—General McDowell supersedes General Sandford.—Force of the Troops South of the Potomac.—General Mansfield's Force in Washington.—Vienna.

WHILE the Southern states had been thus mustering forces and consolidating their government, the North had displayed the most extraordinary vigor. The troops from all quarters concentrated at the designated points, where they were to be formed into *corps d'armée*, each to form a part of that extensive plan of operations projected by Lient-General Scott. The military aspect of the war made the Potomac, about Washington, the pivot of operations, with the right wing extending to the Mississippi, supported by the partisan operations in Missouri and Kansas. On this long line the troops had mustered as follows :

At Washington.....	Brig.-Gen. J. K. F. Mansfield	20,000
“ “ south of Potomac, “ “	Irvin McDowell..	16,000
“ Fort Monroe.....	Maj.-Gen. B. F. Butler .....	12,000
“ Philadelphia.....	“ “ Robert Patterson.	3,000
“ Annapolis.....	“ “ N. P. Banks.....	5,000
“ West Pennsylvania.....	“ “ W. H. Keim.....	16,000
“ West. Virginia & Cincinnati.	“ “ G. B. McClellan..	20,000
“ Cairo.....	Brig.-Gen. B. M. Prentiss...	4,000
		96,000
In camp, organizing in various states.....		125,000

Such was the force that in a few weeks had rallied under the old flag in support of the constitution and laws. The old cadets bred in the army, who had in prosperous times

sought peaceful pursuits, now crowded back to organize, drill, fortify, and instruct, and lead against the enemy, whose officers were also of high scientific attainments and great skill, and one of whom was now organizing rebellion, almost within sight of the Federal capital.

From the 18th of May to the close of June, the troops directed upon Washington, had continued to arrive in great profusion. The daily arrivals in the city, designating regiments and commanders, were as follows:

Date,	Regiment.	Commander.	Strength.
April 18..	Twenty-fifth Penn.....	Col. Cake.....	367
" 19..	Sixth Mass.....	Col. Jones.....	678
" 19..	Fifth Mass.....	Col. Lawrence.....	925
" 24..	Eighth Mass.....	Col. Monroe.....	850
" 24..	Seventh N. York. S. M. Col. Lefferts.....		1,000
" 26..	Seventy-first N. Y. S. M. Col. Martin.....		1,000
" 27..	First R. Island.....	Col. Burnside.....	1,300
" 27..	Fifth Penn.....	Col. McDowell.....	780
" 28..	Twelfth N. Y. S. M....	Col. Butterfield.....	1,000
" 29..	Twenty-fifth N. Y. S. M. Col. Bryan.....		700
May 2..	Fire Zouaves, N. Y. . .	Col. Farnham.....	1,100
" 2..	R. Island Battery.....	Capt. Tompkins.....	150
" 3..	Sixty-ninth N. Y. S. M. Col. Corcoran.....		1,583
" 4..	Co. D, 2d Ar. U. S. A. Capt. Pratt.....		70
" 5..	Twenty-eighth N. Y. S. M. Col. Bennett.....		1,000
" 6..	First N. Jersey.....	Col. Johnson.....	3,381
" 6..	Second N. Jersey.....	Col. Baker.....	
" 7..	Third N. Jersey.....	Col. Napton.....	
" 7..	Fourth N. Jersey.....	Col. Miller.....	
" 8..	Fourth Penn.....	Col. Hartrauft.....	1,000
" 9..	Fourth Penn. Ar.....	Col. Patterson.....	1,000
" 9..	Sherman's Battery.....	Gen. Sherman.....	92
" 10..	Mass. Zouaves.....	Capt. Devereux.....	66
" 10..	Third Inf. U. S. A....	Major Shepard.....	500
" 10..	Co. 4, 2d U. S. Cav. . .	Capt. Brackett.....	400
" 12..	Fifth N. Y. S. M....	Col. Schwarzwaelder.....	850
" 12..	First Conn.....	Col. Tyler.....	850
" 14..	Second Conn.....	Col. Terry.....	850
" 10..	First Mich.....	Col. Wilcox.....	780
" 16..	Carbondale Guards....	Capt. Dodd.....	77
" 16..	Lochiel Grays, Pa....	Capt. McCormick.....	77
" 16..	Doylestown V., Pa....	Capt. Davis.....	74
" 18..	Eighth N. Y. S. M....	Col. Lyons.....	1,000
" 19..	Fourteenth do.....	Col. Wood.....	960
" 21..	Second do.....	Col. Tompkins.....	950
" 23..	First Ohio.....	Col. McCook.....	1,000
" 23..	Second Ohio.....	Col. Wilson.....	1,000
" 23..	Third Conn.....	Col. Arnold.....	780

These regiments numbered about 28,000 men, and with 4,000 district militia which had been organized under Colonel Stone, and 4,000 regular troops, made a force of 36,000, which had concentrated for the defence of the capital, and which were to form the pivot of the future movement. These troops were for the most part well armed and well provided, although the military resources of the government at that time were of the most meagre description. The arms purchased in England by Massachusetts and New York had not arrived, and the government was compelled to use the most extraordinary efforts as well to procure arms as to conceal its great weakness in that respect. Great numbers of contracts were given out for the manufacture of arms, and agents were sent to Europe to purchase. Nevertheless the arming went on very slowly amidst the most impatient clamors for a forward movement. The men were confessedly the best material in the world for troops, but they were destitute of the habits or instruction of the soldier. To drill and organize them was a work of time, to say nothing of inuring them to the hardships of the camp. The public mind was, however, far too excited to make allowance for such difficulties. The desire for action, though our troops were as yet undisciplined, was intense, and the pressure exerted on the government caused some hasty and ill-considered movements.

The number of troops now concentrated in Washington being thus large, it became necessary to make a movement in advance into Virginia. The city of Alexandria, which was strongly secession, was now occupied by the Confederates, and it was determined to throw in a force there, as well as to occupy the heights that command the capital. Accordingly, at midnight on the 23d of May, a small force was pushed across the long bridge to the Virginia side, to clear and hold the head of the bridge. At two o'clock, A. M., May 24th, the Michigan regiment, under the command of Colonel Wilcox, with a detachment

of United States cavalry, and two pieces of Sherman's battery, crossed the bridge, and marched upon Alexandria. The New York seventh followed, and took part of the Virginia end of the bridge; the second New Jersey passed to Roach's Springs, about half a mile from the bridge. The New York twenty-fifth, twelfth, and third, and the New Jersey fourth, after crossing the bridge, turned to the right, and occupied Arlington Heights, where they were joined by other troops that had crossed at the Georgetown aqueduct. Meantime the New York Fire Zouaves, under Colonel Ephraim E. Ellsworth, had left their camp, on two steamers, and landed at Alexandria at four A. M., at the same moment that the Wilcox regiment coming from the long bridge, entered the place. The Zouaves formed and immediately marched up into the town without meeting any resistance. Colonel Wilcox's force seized the depot of the Orange and Alexandria railroad, with the rolling stock, capturing a company (thirty-five men) of rebel cavalry; and Colonel Wilcox remained in command of Alexandria.

During the night, the remainder of Sherman's battery (six pieces) and Ricketts' light artillery crossed the bridge, with a working force to throw up fortifications on Arlington Heights. The territory west of the Potomac which had formerly formed part of the District of Columbia, but which had been retroceded to Virginia, was thus without loss occupied by Federal forces.

A melancholy event, however, attended the occupation of Alexandria. The Marshall House, a hotel kept by James Jackson, was the headquarters for rebel officers, and from a flagstaff on its summit floated the Confederate flag, so conspicuously, that it had been long discernible by the Federal executive, from the White House at Washington. Colonel Ellsworth had been the personal friend of the President, and had promised him before leaving Washington to remove that flaunting insult. He therefore on landing took two or three men and proceeded to





MURDER OF COLONEL ELLSWORTH



the hotel, which now with the early dawn began to show signs of life. On reaching the building, Colonel Ellsworth sprang up stairs, followed by the chaplain of his regiment and private Brownell, mounted to the roof, hauled down the flag, and began to descend with it, private Brownell being in advance of him. The landlord was waiting for him; he had armed himself with a double-barrelled gun, and as the soldiers came down to the first landing, fired full at the colonel's breast, killing him instantly. He fell forward down several steps to the landing, dead. Brownell had made an attempt to turn the gun, and the owner immediately fired the other barrel at him without effect, but was almost instantly shot by the Zouave, the shot, as in Colonel Ellsworth's case, proving immediately fatal. Arrangements were made for conveying the body of Ellsworth to Washington. The event caused the greatest sensation at the North. The young officer had been extensively known, and was the first to meet his fate in the great struggle, under singular circumstances. Lieutenant-Colonel Noah L. Farnham succeeded to the command of the corps.

The Federal troops being in possession of the western bank of the Potomac, it was erected into a department, and Major-General Sandford, of the New York Militia, was placed in command. His headquarters were the elegant mansion of General Lee, Arlington Heights. On taking command he issued the following proclamation :

“HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF FAIRFAX, VIRGINIA,

“ARLINGTON HOUSE, *May 25th*, 1861.

“Fairfax county being occupied by the troops under my command, I deem it proper to repeat the publicity of the assurances I have personally given to many of the good citizens about me, that all its inhabitants may return to or remain in their houses and the usual pacific occupations in peace and confidence, and with assured protection to their persons and property, as the United States forces in Virginia will be employed for no other purpose than that of the suppressing of unlawful combinations against the constitutional authorities of the Union, and of causing the laws thereof to be duly respected and executed.

“By order of Major-General Charles W. Sandford.

“GEORGE W. MORRILL, *Division Inspector*.”

The strengthening of the positions in Virginia, and the organization of the troops as they continued daily to arrive, was prosecuted with great vigor by General McDowell. The enemy in front were not very enterprising, although the threats and evident desire to capture Washington were by no means abated. In front of Alexandria a company of the second cavalry encountered about four hundred rebel troops, who retired with some killed, after a slight skirmish, and the loss of five prisoners. On the same day, the Federal steamers Freeborn and Anacostia engaged the rebel batteries at Aquia Creek, fifty-five miles from Washington, and the terminus of the Richmond and Potomac Railroad. After two hours' firing the batteries were silenced, with the loss of one man. On the 1st of June, company B, second cavalry, seventy-five men, under Lieutenant Tompkins, proceeded to Fairfax Court House, where they encountered a cavalry force of some eight hundred men. After a sharp skirmish in which the Union loss was one killed and four wounded, the enemy retired. On the following day detachments of Ellsworth's Zouaves, and Wilcox's Michigan regiment, were attacked by a party of the enemy, with loss on both sides, when again the enemy retired.

The importance of the command on the south side of the river, now required an experienced and educated soldier, and General McDowell, who had been made brigadier, May 14th, relieved General Sandford, May 28th; and General J. K. F. Mansfield, who had been appointed brigadier, May 14th, was placed in command of Washington. The two commands were composed of the following troops:

#### ALEXANDRIA, ARLINGTON AND NEIGHBORHOOD.

Officer in command, Brigadier-General Irvin McDowell, U. S. A.  
Headquarters, Arlington House.

Regiment.	Where from.	Col. or Chief Officer.
11th N. Y. V. Fire Z...	New York city.....	Noah L. Farnham.
Garibaldi Guard.....	New York city.....	D. D'Utassy.

Regiment.	Where from.	Col. or Chief Officer.
13th N. Y. Vol.....	Rochester, &c.....	Isaac F. Quinby.
8th N. Y. S. M.....	New York city.....	George Lyons.
25th N. Y. S. M.....	Albany.....	M. K. Bryan.
28th do.....	Brooklyn.....	M. Bennett.
69th do.....	New York city.....	Michael Corcoran.
5th Penn. Vol.....	Philadelphia.....	R. P. McDowell.
5th Mass. Vol. Mil...	Charlestown, &c.....	Sam'l C. Lawrence.
1st Conn. Vol.....	Hartford, &c.....	D. Tyler.
2d do.....	do.....	A. H. Terry.
1st Mich. Vol.....	Detroit, &c.....	O. B. Wilcox.
5 comp. 2d cavalry ..	U. S. A.....	Albert C. Brackett.
3 comp. battery.....	U. S. A.....	Thomas W. Sherman.
1st N. Jersey Militia.	Newark, &c.....	A. J. Johnson.
2d do.....	Jersey City, &c.....	H. M. Baker.
3d do.....	Trenton, &c.....	W. Napton.
4th do.....	Camden, &c.....	M. Miller.
1st Ohio Vol.....	—.....	A. D. McCook.
2d do.....	—.....	L. Wilson.

Number of men about 17,000. The New Jersey troops under the command of Brigadier-General Theodore Runyon.

#### WASHINGTON AND NEIGHBORHOOD.

Officer in chief command, Brigadier-General Joseph K. F. Mansfield, U. S. A.; officer in command of New York troops, Major-General Charles W. Sandford.

Regiment.	Where from.	Col. or Chief Officer.
8th N. Y. Vol.....	New York city.....	L. Blenker.
12th N. Y. Vol.....	{ Syracuse and Onondaga co..... }	{ E. L. Walrath.
19th N. Y. Vol.....	Cayuga county.....	John S. Clark.
2d N. Y. Mil.....	New York city.....	G. W. B. Tompkins.
5th N. Y. do.....	New York city.....	C. Schwarzwaelder.
12th N. Y. do.....	New York city.....	D. Butterfield.
14th N. Y. do.....	Brooklyn.....	A. M. Wood.
71st N. Y. do.....	New York city.....	H. P. Martin.
79th N. Y. do.....	New York city.....	James Cameron.
25th Penn. Vol.....	Philadelphia.....	Henry S. Cake.
1st Maine Vol.....	Portland, &c.....	N. J. Jackson.
2d Maine do.....	Bangor, &c.....	C. D. Jameson.
3d Maine do.....	Augusta, &c.....	O. O. Howard.
2d Michigan Vol.....	Michigan.....	I. B. Richardson.
D. C. Mil.....	Washington.....	C. P. Stone.
Regular Infantry.....	U. S. A.....	J. K. F. Mansfield.
Regular Cavalry.....	U. S. A.....	R. E. Lee, 2d cavalry.
Regular Artillery.....	U. S. A.....	Thomas W. Sherman.
4th Penn. Vol.....	Philadelphia.....	J. F. Hartrauft.

Number of men about 17,000.

On the 17th of June, General McDowell learning that a force of the enemy from Centreville were at Vienna, ordered Brigadier-General R. C. Schenck, a newly-appointed general, to dislodge them. He took the first Ohio volunteers, Colonel McCook, and proceeded by the Alexandria railroad, leaving two companies, I and H, one hundred and thirty-five men, at the crossing, and dispatched two companies, one hundred and seventeen men, to reconnoitre in the direction of Falls Church. He left other two companies to guard the bridge, and with the remaining four companies, two hundred and seventy-five men, proceeded slowly toward Vienna. When within a quarter of a mile of the place, on turning the curve, in a deep cut, they received a discharge of shells and grape from a battery of three guns, which killed and wounded several men. The party then left the cars, and retired into the woods right and left. The enemy's force appeared to be about fifteen hundred South Carolinian troops. General Schenck then withdrew his men slowly along the track, about four miles, until they met the first and second Connecticut regiments coming to their support. The engineer had meantime gone back with all speed to Alexandria. The loss was five killed and six wounded.

## CHAPTER VII.

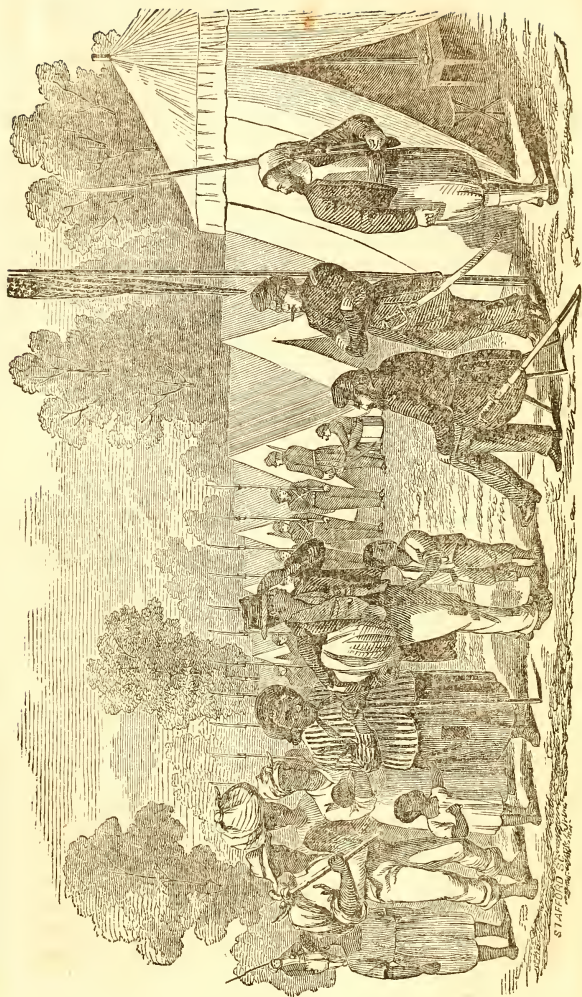
Occupation of Fort Monroe.—Skirmish.—“Contrabands.”—Force at Big Bethel.—Mathias Point.—Death of Ward.—Proclamation for Volunteers.—Increase of Army.—Army Organization.—Numbers mustered.—Arrival in Washington.—Want of Arms.—Armories.—Strength of Army, July 1st.—Mansfield’s Force. — McDowell’s. — Patterson’s. — Beauregard’s.—Position of Armies.—Routes into Virginia.—Urgency of an Advance.—The Grand Army.—The Advance —Bunker Hill.—Advance to Centreville.—Disposition of the Enemy.—Plan of McDowell.—Plan of Beauregard.—Blackburn’s Ford.—Arrival at Headquarters.—Order of Battle.—Advance of the Troops.—Bull Run.—The Retreat.

THE occupation of Fort Monroe had been perfected by the arrival of the Massachusetts fourth, on the 20th of April, and the force there had been gradually increased while the enemy were actively engaged in the neighborhood, without attracting much attention. The commander of the fleet perceiving that the rebels had erected a battery at Sewall’s Point, made an attack upon it, by which the rebels were dislodged. This was the first offensive operation of the government against the rebels.

On the 22d of May General Butler, who had been appointed major-general on the 16th of May, took command of the department of the South, headquarters Fortress Monroe, and organized the troops there.

The question of what to do with the slaves was becoming every day one of more serious magnitude. Considerable numbers of blacks, escaping from or abandoned by their masters, sought the Federal lines, and had to be provided for. General Butler, therefore, May 27th, issued an order declaring them “contraband of war,” and ordered the able-bodied to be employed, and allowed them pay, against which was to be charged the expense of keeping all





CONTRABANDS COMING INTO CAMP.

The Confederates held positions at Yorktown and threw out parties toward Fort Monroe. It was suspected they were forming a battery on the right bank of the James river, at a point opposite Newport News, held by the Union troops. To ascertain the fact, Commodore Pendergrast sent the cutter Harriet Lane to reconnoitre. On arriving at the point she threw in several shells, which were replied to, disclosing a battery of seven guns, one of which, a thirty-two pound rifled cannon, took effect on the cutter, doing some damage and wounding five of the crew.

The composition of the forces in this department was now nearly as follows:

#### FORTRESS MONROE AND NEIGHBORHOOD.

Officer in command, Major-General Benjamin F. Butler.

Second in command, Brigadier-General E. A. Pierce.

Officer in command of United States troops, brevet Colonel Justin Dimmick, second regiment United States artillery.

Regiments.	Where from.	Colonel or Chief Officer.
1st N. Y. Volunteers . . . . .	New York city . . .	Wm. H. Allen.
2d N. Y. Volunteers . . . . .	Troy . . . . .	Joseph B. Carr.
3d N. Y. Volunteers . . . . .	Albany . . . . .	Frederick Townsend.
4th N. Y. Volunteers . . . . .	New York city . . .	A. W. Taylor.
5th N. Y. Volunteers . . . . .	New York city . . .	A. Duryea.
7th N. Y. Volunteers . . . . .	New York city . . .	John E. Bendix.
9th N. Y. Volunteers . . . . .	New York city . . .	R. C. Hawkins.
10th N. Y. Volunteers . . . . .	New York city . . .	W. W. McChesney.
Naval Brigade N. Y. V. . . . .	New York city . . .	W. A. Bartlett.
3d Volunteer Militia . . . . .	Massachusetts . . .	D. W. Wardrop.
4th Volunteer Militia . . . . .	Massachusetts . . .	A. B. Packard.
1st Volunteers . . . . .	Vermont . . . . .	J. W. Phelps.
Regulares . . . . .	U. S. Army . . . . .	J. Dimmick.

Number of men about 12,000.

The Confederates had now pushed down a force and established a post at Little Bethel, about eight miles from Newport News on their right, and a short distance from Hampton on their left. They were also fortifying at Big Bethel, some distance in their rear, and General Butler determined to dislodge them. The naval brigade, which had been organized in New York, and sent down, were drilled in the management of eight or ten scows, each twenty-four oars, and capable, altogether, of trans-

porting 1,300 men. These at night, June 10th, with muffled oars, were sent round to Hampton Creek, where General Pierce, of Massachusetts, was in command. That officer was ordered to send Duryea's New York Zouaves, at one o'clock A. M., across the creek in the scows, in order to get in the rear of the enemy, or between Little and Big Bethel, and, an hour later, Colonel Townsend's regiment, with two mounted howitzers, to support him. Colonel Phelps, at Newport News, was directed to send forward a battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Washburn, aided by Lieutenant Greble, U. S. second artillery, with two howitzers, to make a demonstration at Little Bethel, with Colonel Bendix's regiment with two field-pieces as a reserve. The two supporting regiments coming from Hampton and Newport News, were to effect a junction at the cross roads. The attack was to be made at daybreak, and if the enemy retreated, Duryea was to follow close, and attack the works at Big Bethel, pell-mell with the fugitives. To prevent mistakes it was ordered that Townsend's regiment should wear white on the arm. The plan was executed so far, that Duryea's Zouaves reached the appointed position in rear of Little Bethel, and Colonel Washburn was in position in front, while Bendix was posted at the cross roads to hold it. At daybreak Townsend's regiment, with General Pierce at its head with his staff, was approaching to form the appointed junction, when, being within one hundred yards, Bendix, supposing the troops to be a body of cavalry, of which there were none with the United States forces, opened on them with artillery and musketry, which Townsend's men irregularly returned and retreated a short distance. Colonel Washburn, in advance, hearing the firing, and supposing his communication threatened, fell back, as did also Duryea. Meantime General Pierce, supposing he had been attacked by the enemy, sent to General Butler for reinforcements, when Colonel Allen's New York regiment was immediately sent forward. General Pierce had now ascertained the true state of

affairs and effected the junction. Colonel Duryea surprised and captured an outlying guard of thirty men. All hope of a surprise at Little Bethel was destroyed by this mishap, and when the advance was resumed it was found that the rebels had fallen back upon the works at Big Bethel, which were attacked by General Pierce at half-past nine o'clock. At ten he sent for reinforcements, and Colonel Carr, with the second New York regiment, was ordered forward. General Pierce, in advancing upon Big Bethel, was obliged to cross the Back river, where the bridge had been burned, and the opposite bank was defended by batteries of rifled cannon, which opened upon the advancing column one hundred yards distant. This, followed by a fire of musketry, produced some disorder. The troops, however, promptly rallied, with the artillery in the centre upon the road; the infantry upon the right was partly sheltered by the woods. The enemy's fire was now returned, and under cover of the discharge Captains Winslow, Bartlett and Kilpatrick, of Duryea's fifth New York, charged with their commands in front, Captain Denike, Lieutenant Duryea and 200 Troy rifles on the right, Colonel Townsend upon the left. The gallant charge of this line was successful at all points, and the men were upon the point of carrying the works, when Colonel Townsend mistook Washburn's 250 Vermonters, on the extreme right, for the enemy, and ordered his men to fall back. This movement compelled the Zouaves in front also to fall back. It was now deemed impossible to flank the position of the enemy, and as the light pieces were no match for the rifled cannon of the Confederates, the retreat was ordered and the force brought off in good order.

This was the first battle of the war. The enemy had ten guns and 2,200 men in position, under Colonel Magruder, who was attended by Colonel de Russy and other late officers of the United States army, and were severely handled by the Union forces, who fought with the greatest determination and encountered severe loss, nearly fifty

being killed and wounded. The enemy were not able to pursue with any degree of vigor. Among the killed of the Union troops were Lieutenant Greble and Major Winthrop of General Butler's staff. The latter was leading a body of troops to the charge, and having mounted a log, waved his sword, and shouted to his men to come on, when a North Carolina drummer-boy leaped upon the battery and shot him in the breast. The body was recovered by a flag sent from Fort Monroe, under Lieutenant Butler. This defeat produced a great sensation, and although it reflected the highest credit on the determined bravery of the troops, it involved the retirement of General Pierce, who demanded an inquiry, but it was refused as being detrimental to the public service.

There were many instances of extraordinary pluck and cool courage among the troops. On the retreat Captain Wilson, of Colonel Carr's regiment, observing that a six-pounder had been left on the field, about fifty rods from the battery, said to his men, "Boys, there is a cannon; we must not leave it behind; we must take it with us." The company to a man shouted, "We will take it." And he immediately marched his company up the road to the piece. Scarcely had they reached it before the enemy opened a scorching fire, which killed private Mooney and wounded privates Lanergan and John Larkin. The dragropes were not attached to the gun, and a storm of grape and rifle-shot hailed thick about them. Every moment they expected to be their last, as full ten guns were constantly playing upon them. Finally, in what seemed to be an age, the ropes were tied on, and with a cheer they rushed the cannon into the woods; then Captain Wilson, with five men, went back to the open space, seized the caisson, quickly took up the body of poor Lieutenant Greble, and got into the woods with both, before the enemy could recover from their surprise and astonishment at the audacity of our men. The cannon was discovered to be spiked and partially loaded, which was done on retreating.



Lieutenant White fired the last two charges he had, and then retreated with his howitzer, bringing off with him several wounded Zouaves. He was the last officer to leave the field, and his gallant service during the day was recognized and appreciated by all. Clarke's rifles fought, said an eye-witness, "like devils all day," and earned for themselves an enviable reputation. Lieutenant White, with twenty men, was far in the rear, and kept in check a body of forty horse and fifty foot for four miles, when he was reinforced and came in safely.

The communication between Washington and Fortress Monroe was now more or less threatened by the enemy, and the gunboats became active in attacking the shore batteries. On the 27th of June an engagement took place at Mathias Point, Virginia, between the gunboats Pawnee and Freeborn and a number of rebels on shore. The loss of the enemy was not known, but the Union force had to deplore the death of Captain James H. Ward,\* United States navy, in command of the Freeborn. Several sailors belonging to the Freeborn were wounded.

On board the Freeborn, when the enemy opened fire, Captain Ward came down from the gallows frame and seized a rifle, which he fired at the enemy. After he had fired several shots, the captain ran down to the forecastle deck and began to sight the gun, first ordering it to be loaded with round shot. He had got the sight, and was about to withdraw and give the word to fire, when he was struck by a bullet, saying to Harry Churchill, the boat-

\* He was the eldest son of the late Colonel James Ward, a prominent citizen of Hartford, Connecticut, and was born in that city in the year 1805. He entered the navy, March 4th, 1823, and made his first cruise as a midshipman in the Constitution, under Commodore McDonough, with whom he sailed four years in succession. He was one of the best educated men in the navy. Before his appointment as a midshipman, he was for two years a student in the Norwich, Vermont, University (Captain Partridge's Military School), and after he entered the navy, he passed a year of leave in Washington (now Trinity) College. He was an indefatigable student all his life and a most exemplary officer.

swain's mate, "Churchill, I am killed." He fell into one of his arms, while Churchill pulled the string with the other, throwing the shot clear among the enemy.

Some instances of rare bravery were displayed in the engagement. Coxswain John Williams, of the Pawnee's first cutter, behaved nobly. He was badly wounded in the thigh, and the flag of his boat, six feet by four, had no fewer than nineteen shots through it, and the staff was cut in two. Seizing the stump in his hand he waved the flag, saying, "Boys, the American flag never shall be lowered; don't allow any of our men to be left behind."

The men now lay on their oars, and took on board the swimmers, the rebel shots flying thickly around them. Lieutenant Chaplin was not yet taken on board, when Williams called out, "Mr. Chaplin, throw away your cap; it is a mark for the enemy." Mr. Chaplin coolly turned on his back, fastened his cap to his suspenders, turned round again, swam and reached the boat.

It was very soon manifest that the militia called out under the proclamation of April the 15th, could not be efficiently armed and organized before their time of service would expire, and that, consequently, other and more permanent measures must be adopted. Accordingly, on the 3d of May, a second proclamation called for volunteers to serve during the war. The proclamation also called for an increase of the regular army. This was to consist of a regiment of cavalry, twelve companies, numbering 1,187 officers and men; one regiment of artillery of twelve batteries, six pieces each, numbering 1,909 officers and men; nine regiments of infantry, each regiment to contain three battalions of eight companies each, numbering 2,452 officers and men, making a total increase of 22,068 infantry, officers and men.

The small army of the United States hitherto had borne in numbers no proportion to the officers who graduate annually from West Point, and it required very few general officers. The exigencies of the government now required



an army on the scale of those of Europe, and a new system of organization was deemed advisable. On the organization of an army depends much of its efficiency in the field, and the progress of modern military science has adapted it to the use of modern weapons in a manner to give it the greatest effect. A well-organized, drilled, and equipped army is a machine of immense power, and withal of the most costly description.

In usual organizations of an army a company is the unit, and is supposed to average, on the war basis, one hundred men, officers included. The general rule for organization of such a company gives one captain, two lieutenants, five sergeants, four corporals, and eighty-five men. Formerly each company had an ensign, who carried the flag, but his place is now supplied by the color sergeant. The first sergeant is called the orderly sergeant, and is, next to the captain, the most important man in the company—carrying the books of the company, and calling the roll morning and evening. The company is formed, when in column, into two platoons and four sections, each platoon commanded by a lieutenant, and each section by a sergeant.

A regiment is regularly composed of ten companies, or two battalions; a battalion being half a regiment, composed of five companies—of which one is called a light or route company, intended in regular service to operate outside of the heavy columns as flanking parties, guards, &c.

The officers of a regiment, independent of company officers, are a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, one major, adjutant, quartermaster and commissary. Each separate body of troops must have a commissary and quartermaster, but in a large army they are appointed to regiments or brigades. A full regiment will be formed thus: one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one adjutant, one quartermaster, one commissary, one major, ten captains, twenty first and second lieutenants, fifty sergeants, forty corporals, and eight hundred and fifty private men; making

nine hundred and seventy-six, but in reality there are some others; each company has regularly a drummer and fifer, which make a regimental band of twenty, besides the drum-major. Thus the regiment, when full, is made up regularly to one thousand men. When the volunteer force was called out by the President, the reorganization of the regular army was suggested. This question was fully considered by officers of the army, and it was determined to adopt the French regimental system of three battalions, of eight companies each, to a regiment. Each battalion is commanded by a major, with a colonel and lieutenant-colonel for the general command of the regiment. This, it is believed, is the best organization now existing. The number of field officers is less than under the old plan, and, therefore, much less expensive.

A brigade should be composed of two regiments, a squadron of cavalry and a corps of field artillery. If these were all full, a complete brigade, operating alone, would in our service make two thousand four hundred men.

A division is composed of two brigades, with additional corps of cavalry and artillery, making in our army, including the whole staff and music, about five thousand men. This is the highest element of organization in our service; but in France, as they organize immense armies, there is one other.

The corps is composed of two or more divisions, frequently of four or five. The corps is, in the French service, properly commanded by a field marshal—an officer unknown to our country; and the corps is properly a complete army in itself.

In the field all orders and operations are carried on through the staff of the army. The staff consists of the aids, the adjutant-general, the engineer, the quartermaster and commissary-generals. Through the adjutant-general orders are conveyed to each particular post. By the

quartermaster-general all transportations, and vehicles, and horses, are furnished; by the commissary, all supplies; by the engineer the topography of the country is examined, the practicability of passes determined, fortifications built or attacked.

The warlike ardor of the people manifested itself promptly in response to the call, and by the 1st of July 208 regiments had been accepted. All of these regiments were infantry and riflemen, with the exception of two battalions of artillery and four regiments of cavalry. Of the whole number 153 regiments were in active service on the 1st of July, and the remaining fifty-five were so within twenty-five days thereafter. The troops moved rapidly forward to the various depots and camps. Those which arrived in Washington in June were as follows :

	Date of Arrival.	Commander.	No. of Men.
June 4.	First New Hampshire.	Colonel Tappan	1,108
" 4.	Eighth N. Y. V.	Colonel Blenker	1,000
" 4.	Ninth do.	Colonel Stiles	1,000
" 6.	Garibaldi Guard, N. Y.	Colonel D'Uassy	1,050
" 6.	Twelfth N. Y. V.	Colonel Walrath	800
" 6.	Thirteenth do.	Colonel Quinby.	800
" 7.	Second Maine.	Colonel Jameson.	800
" 10.	First Maine	Colonel Jackson	850
" 11.	Seventy-ninth N. Y. S. M.	Colonel Cameron	900
" 14.	Nineteenth N. Y.	Colonel Clark	750
" 14.	Third Maine.	Colonel Howard.	1,010
" 16.	Second Michigan.	Colonel Richardson	1,010
" 16.	Third do.	Colonel McConnell.	1,050
" 16.	Company K, Ninth N. Y.	Captain Bunting	80
" 17.	First Massachusetts	Colonel Cowdin	1,045
" 18.	Twenty-sixth Pa.	Colonel Small	1,000
" 18.	Twenty-fourth Pa.	Colonel Einstein	1,050
" 19.	Twenty-first N. Y.	Colonel Rogers	780
" 20.	Fourteenth do.	Colonel McQuade	870
" 20.	Fourth Maine.	Colonel Berry	1,065
" 20.	Eighteenth N. Y.	Colonel Jackson	780
" 21.	Thirty-eighth do.	Colonel Hobart.	790
" 22.	Second Rhode Island	Colonel Slocum	1,226
" 22.	Twenty-sixth N. Y.	Colonel Christian	800
" 22.	Twenty-ninth do.	Colonel Von Steinwehr.	872
" 22.	Second New Hampshire.	Colonel Marston.	1,046
" 22.	N. Y. Seventeenth V.	Colonel Lansing	850
" 24.	N. Y. Thirty-seventh	Colonel McCunn	815
" 25.	Second Wisconsin	Colonel Coon	1,060

Date of Arrival.	Commander.	No. of Men.
June 25..Thirty-first N. Y. ....	Colonel Pratt .....	897
" 26..Second Vermont .....	Colonel Whiting.....	950
" 26..First Minnesota .....	Colonel Gorman.....	1,046
" 27..Twenty-eighth N. Y.....	Colonel Donnelly.....	780
" 28..Fifth Maine .....	Colonel Dunnell.....	1,001
" 29..First N. Y., 1st Brigade..	Colonel Montgomery.....	1,011
" 29..Sixteenth N. Y.....	Colonel Davies .....	630
" 29..Second N. J. 18th Brig..	Colonel McLean .....	1,040
" 29..Third N. J. 18th Brig..	Colonel Taylor .....	1,046
" 30..Thirtieth N. Y. ....	Colonel Matheson.....	870
" 30..Ninth Massachusetts....	Colonel Cass .....	1,100
Total.....		36,628
District Volunteers.....		4,000
Regulars .....		4,000
Volunteers in May .....		29,060
		<hr/> 37,060

A total army of .....78,688

The government was sufficiently rich in men, but in a very distressed condition for arms to give them. An old law of Congress required the secretary of war to deliver to each state, on the requisition of the governor, its quota of arms in proportion to its militia. These requisitions had long been neglected, but when preparations for secession were made, each Southern state drew its arms, and great numbers were transferred from the north to the south, by the order of Mr. Floyd, secretary of war, thus stripping the Northern arsenals for the benefit of the South. In addition great numbers of arms had been purchased on account of Southern states. Some of them were seized on their way, but, as already stated, in many instances were restored to their owners.

Previous to the early part of 1860, the government had a supply of arms and munitions of war sufficient for any emergency; but, in the words of Secretary Cameron, "through the bad faith of those intrusted with their guardianship, they were taken from their proper depositories and distributed through portions of the country expected to take part in the contemplated rebellion." In consequence of the serious loss thus sustained, there was avail-

able, at the commencement of the outbreak, a much less supply than usual of all kinds.

Some patriotic American citizens, resident in Europe, fearing that the country might not have a sufficient supply, purchased on their own responsibility, through co-operation with the United States ministers to England and France, a number of improved cannon and muskets, and the war department accepted the drafts drawn to defray the outlay thus assumed. A complete battery of six Whitworth twelve-pounder rifled cannon, with 3,000 rounds of ammunition, the munificent donation of sympathizing friends in Europe, was also received from England.

The chief dependence had been upon the Springfield armory, the capacity of which was 25,000 muskets per annum. The Northern armories had, to a considerable extent, been stripped to supply the Southern States. The private armories were able to furnish only a few thousand annually, and Harper's Ferry had been captured with a loss of 15,000 muskets. Hence, until arms could be procured from Europe, many regiments were detained in camp. The Springfield armory was worked to its fullest extent, and with the help of outside machine shops, before the close of the year, could produce 8,000 per month, and can now supply 15,000 per month. The troops were at that time, however, in great distress for them.

On the morning of the 27th of June, the report of General Mansfield, commanding at Washington, gave the number of troops in the city at 22,846 men present for duty. The force of General Patterson commanding on the Potomac, at Williamsport and Martinsburg, above Washington, was 17,188; of these 542 were sick. The force in Virginia, beyond the Potomac, under McDowell, was 15,766 men with the colors. The morning statement, for the 27th of June, gave the following particulars :

Brigades.	Regiments.	Sick.	Absent.	Officers.	Men.
Heintzelman.....	5 4,422	224	400	192	3,580
Runyon.....	4 3,064	89	501	132	2,474
Hunter.....	3 2,544	115	371	118	2,058
Schenck.....	3 2,296	85	58	127	2,153
Tyler.....	3 2,202	97	62	106	2,063
Brackett's Cavalry...	154	2	30	4	122
Lyon's Eighth N. Y..	1 917	26	170	36	721
Bryan's 25th N. Y. ...	1 537	22	10	39	505
<hr/>					
Total McDowell...20	15,766	660	1,602	764	13,656
Total Mansfield...—	34,160	1,394	3,169	1,025	22,846
Total Patterson...22	17,188	542	261	747	15,865

The left of McDowell occupied Alexandria, while his right was pushed some distance up the Potomac mostly on the Maryland side toward Patterson's left. The Confederate army having adopted the defensive policy as that upon which they should act, were so disposed as to prevent the advance of the Federal force into Virginia.

The surface of Virginia is such that there are only three routes for an invading force coming from the North. A line drawn from Georgetown, through Fredericksburg, Richmond, and Petersburg to Weldon, North Carolina, would mark the western limit of what is called the lower country or tide-water section. It is a low plain, without any considerable elevation, but scooped out by the action of water into deep ravines, through which flow broad sluggish rivers. To the west of this line the ground rises about 150 feet to the middle country, which here becomes hilly, until it reaches the Blue Ridge, which forms a continuous chain, although pierced by the Potomac, James, and Staunton rivers, of about 250 miles, running north-east and south-west. To the west of this lies the great ridge, which is a prolongation of the Pennsylvania Kittatinny Mountain, and which, running parallel with the Blue Ridge, rises 2,100 to 2,500 feet in height. The Shenandoah river flows northerly into the Potomac through the great valley that lies between the two ridges, and gives its name to it. West of the great ridge runs the line of Alleghanies, which separates

western Virginia from the eastern part of the state. That region is somewhat hilly, but contains no considerable elevation. With this configuration of the country the direct route, for an invading force, is from Alexandria, *via* Culpepper and Greensville, to Richmond, overland; from the Chesapeake *via* the York river and the Peninsula to Richmond; or, lastly, entering the valley at Harper's Ferry or the Point of Rocks, to proceed to Staunton, Charlottesville and Lynchburg. From Harper's Ferry to Richmond by this route is about two hundred and fifty miles, the route lying through a narrow valley for the first half of the way. It was from this valley that Morgan derived a large portion of his famous riflemen in the revolution; and its county of Augusta—"Old Federal Augusta"—is still celebrated for the proficiency of her citizens in this important branch of war service. The counties of Rockingham, Shenandoah, and Page, are inhabited by a sturdy race of farmers, descendants of German emigrants from Pennsylvania. A force employed on this route should co-operate, as circumstances may require, with the other divisions of the grand army.

Under these circumstances, General McDowell proposed to take the direct route, while General Patterson was to proceed by the valley. There was no plan of co-operation by the York river. To oppose this movement, as we have seen, General Beauregard was in force at "Manassas Junction," a name given to that hilly section because at that point unite the railroad coming from Alexandria, that from the valley by the way of Staunton, and lastly that coming from Gordonsville; thus no point could be more eligible for purposes of concentration. General Johnston with 15,000 men was at Winchester, in the Shenandoah valley, holding in check General Patterson. In his official report, General Beauregard stated his force on the 20th at 21,833 for the army of the Potomac, and fortifications of great strength were thrown up to assist the natural defences, which are of the most



formidable character. The opposing armies were thus facing each other, viz.: General McDowell with 15,766 men extended on the Potomac from Alexandria on the left to Edwards Ferry on the right, and his column pointing toward Manassas in his front, strongly fortified and held by Beauregard with 21,833 men, according to his report. General Patterson with a force of 16,000, watched the Shenandoah valley, opposed to Johnston with 15,000.

The increasing forces of the rebels and their threatening attitude, combined with, perhaps, an undue confidence in the skill and bravery of our undisciplined and partially armed troops, led to great impatience of farther delay; and, the commander-in-chief yielding to the pressure, an advance was ordered, when the force had never been exercised in movements in brigade, and when few of them knew their superior officers by sight. The 8th of July was finally fixed upon for the movement. The plan of operations and the estimate of force required were made for that day, with the understanding that General Johnston, in command of the rebels about Harper's Ferry, should be held in check by General Patterson. The means of transportation were very limited, however, and these were reduced in order to send a reinforcement to Patterson. It was impossible to get the horses for the wagons and trains of artillery for more than a week after the appointed time, and the 15th still found the army incomplete, after the most strenuous exertions. The public impatience became so great, however, that the movement took place, and great numbers of Congressmen and civilians accompanied the march as spectators of a holiday fête.

The 19th of July was the day on which the time of the three months' men was up. The different corps had, however, been increased and organized under proper commanders, and preparations were being made for a forward movement. The regimental commanders had all orders to provide the men with three days' cooked rations, and to hold them ready to move at two o'clock P. M., on the 15th of

July. At that hour the telegraph from General McDowell's headquarters, conveyed to all the divisions simultaneously the order to move, and immediately 55,000 men of the grand army were in motion. The whole army was composed as follows:

COMMANDER OF THE GRAND ARMY.

BRIGADIER GENERAL IRVIN McDOWELL, U. S. A.

STAFF OF THE DEPARTMENT COMMANDER.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.

Captain James B. Fry, Assistant Adjutant-General.

AIDES-DE-CAMP.

First Lieutenant H. W. Kingsbury, Fifth Artillery.  
Major Clarence S. Brown, New York State Militia.  
Major James S. Wadsworth, New York State Militia.

ACTING INSPECTOR-GENERAL.

Major W. H. Wood, Seventeenth Infantry.

ENGINEERS.

Major J. G. Barnard.  
First-Lieutenant F. E. Prime.

TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEERS.

Captain A. W. Whipple.  
First-Lieutenant Henry L. Abbott.  
Second-Lieutenant Haldimand S. Putnam.

QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT.

Captain O. H. Tillinghast, Assistant Quartermaster.

SUBSISTENCE DEPARTMENT.

Captain H. F. Clark, Commissary of Subsistence.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Surgeon, W. S. King.  
Assistant Surgeon, David L. Magruder.

FIRST DIVISION.

*Acting Major-General, Brigadier-General Daniel Tyler, Connecticut Militia.*

FIRST BRIGADE.

*Acting Brigadier-General, Colonel E. D. Keyes, Eleventh Infantry.*

1st regiment Connecticut Volunteers, Colonel Burnham.

2d regiment Connecticut Volunteers, Colonel Terry.

3d regiment Connecticut Volunteers, Colonel Chatfield.

2d regiment Maine Volunteers, Colonel Jameson.

8th regiment New York Volunteer Battery, Captain Varian.

2d regiment United States Cavalry, Company B, Lieutenant Tompkins.

## SECOND BRIGADE.

*Brigadier-General, Robert C. Schenck, Ohio Volunteers.*

- 1st regiment Ohio Volunteers, Colonel A. D. McCook.
- 2d regiment Ohio Volunteers, Colonel Harris.
- 2d regiment New York State Militia, Colonel Tompkins.
- 2d regiment United States Artillery, Company E, Light Battery,  
Captain —.

## THIRD BRIGADE.

*Acting Brigadier-General, Colonel W. T. Sherman, Thirteenth Infantry.*

- 69th regiment New York State Militia, Colonel Corcoran.
- 79th regiment New York State Militia, Colonel Cameron.
- 13th regiment New York Volunteers, Colonel Quinby.
- 2d regiment Wisconsin Volunteers, Colonel Coon.
- 3d regiment United States Artillery, Company E, Light Battery,  
Captain R. B. Ayres.

## FOURTH BRIGADE.

*Acting Brigadier-General, Colonel J. B. Richardson, Michigan Volunteers.*

- 2d regiment Michigan Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel Chipman.
- 3d regiment Michigan Volunteers, Colonel McConnell.
- 1st regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, Colonel Cowdin.
- 12th regiment New York Volunteers, Colonel Walrath.

## SECOND DIVISION.

*Acting Major-General, Colonel David Hunter, Third Cavalry.*

## FIRST BRIGADE.

*Acting Brigadier-General, Colonel Andrew Porter, Sixteenth Infantry.*

- Battalion United States Infantry (2d, 3d, and 8th), Major G. Sykes.
- Battalion United States Marines, Major J. G. Reynolds.
- 8th regiment New York State Militia, Colonel Lyons.
- 14th regiment New York State Militia, Colonel Wood.
- 27th regiment New York Volunteers, Colonel W. H. Slocum.
- 2d regiment United States Cavalry, Companies G and L, Major  
T. N. Palmer.
- 5th regiment United States Artillery, Company —, Light Battery  
Captain Ransom.
- West Point Battery, Captain C. Griffin.

## SECOND BRIGADE.

*Acting Brigadier-General, Colonel A. E. Burnside, Rhode Island Volunteers.*

- 1st regiment Rhode Island Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel J. S. Pitman.
- 2d regiment Rhode Island Volunteers, Colonel Slocum.
- 71st regiment New York State Militia, Colonel Martin.
- 2d regiment New Hampshire Volunteers, Colonel Marston.
- 2d regiment Rhode Island Volunteers, Light Battery, Captain W. H. Reynolds.
- 2d regiment United States Artillery, section of Company A, Lieutenant A. S. Webb.

## SIEGE TRAIN.

Battery of eight rifled thirty-two pounders, Captain T. Seymour, of Fort Sumter.

## THIRD DIVISION.

*Acting Major-General, Colonel S. P. Heintzelman, Seventeenth Infantry.*

## FIRST BRIGADE.

*Acting Brigadier-General, Colonel W. B. Franklin, Twelfth Infantry.*

4th regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, Colonel Hartrauft.

5th regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, Colonel Lawrence.

1st regiment Minnesota Volunteers, Colonel Gorman.

2d regiment United States Cavalry, Company E, Captain Lowe.

1st regiment United States Artillery, Company I, Light Battery, —.

## SECOND BRIGADE.

*Acting Brigadier-General, Colonel O. B. Wilcox, Michigan Volunteers.*

1st regiment Michigan Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel L. R. Comstock.

4th regiment Michigan Volunteers, Colonel D. A. Woodbury.

11th regiment New York Volunteers, Colonel N. Farnham.

2d regiment United States Artillery, Company D, —.

## THIRD BRIGADE.

*Acting Brigadier-General, Colonel O. O. Howard, Maine Volunteers.*

3d regiment Maine Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel, I. N. Tucker.

4th regiment Maine Volunteers, Colonel Berry.

5th regiment Maine Volunteers, Colonel Dunnell.

2d regiment Vermont Volunteers, Colonel Whitney.

## RESERVE—FOURTH DIVISION.

*Acting Major-General, Brigadier-General T. Runyon, New Jersey Militia.*

1st regiment New Jersey Militia, Colonel Johnson.

2d regiment New Jersey Militia, Colonel Baker.

3d regiment New Jersey Militia, Colonel Napton.

4th regiment New Jersey Militia, Colonel Miller.

1st regiment New Jersey Volunteers, Colonel Montgomery.

2d regiment New Jersey Volunteers, Colonel McLean.

3d regiment New Jersey Volunteers, Colonel Taylor.

## FIFTH DIVISION.

*Acting Major-General, Colonel Dixon S. Miles, Second Infantry.*

## FIRST BRIGADE.

*Acting Brigadier-General, Colonel L. Blenker, New York Volunteers.*

8th regiment New York Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel Stahel.

29th regiment New York Volunteers, Colonel Von Steinwehr.

Garibaldi Guard New York Volunteers, Colonel d'Utassy.

24th regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, Colonel Max Einstein.

## SECOND BRIGADE.

*Acting Brigadier-General, Colonel T. A. Davies, New York Volunteers.*

16th regiment New York Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel S. Marsh.

17th regiment New York Volunteers, Colonel Lausing.

18th regiment New York Volunteers, Colonel Jackson.

31st regiment New York Volunteers, Colonel C. C. Pratt.

32d regiment New York Volunteers, Colonel Matteson.

2d regiment United States Artillery, Company G, Light Battery, Lieutenant Green.

2d regiment United States Artillery, Company A, Battery, Captain W. F. Barry.

The order of the army was as follows :

General Hunter's\* column formed the extreme right.

General Tyler's           "           "           " right centre.

Colonel Miles'           "           "           " left centre.

Colonel Heintzelman's†           "           " extreme left.

As the columns advanced they encountered various obstacles, felled trees, &c., across the road, and General

\* David Hunter, now about sixty years of age, is a native of the District of Columbia. He entered West Point in 1818, graduated in 1822, and entered the army as second-lieutenant of the fifth infantry. He was promoted to a first-lieutenancy in June, 1828, and made captain of the first dragoons in March, 1833; he resigned this last position on the 4th of July, 1836, but again entered the army from Illinois in November, 1841, as temporary paymaster. In March, 1842, he was regularly appointed paymaster, and served in that department until the breaking out of the rebellion, when he was made brigadier-general; and soon after, on May 13th, 1861, he was appointed major-general. At the battle of Bull Run he commanded our second division. On the removal of Major-General Fremont from the department of the West, General Hunter, in obedience to orders, assumed command until the arrival of Major-General Halleck from California, when he was placed over the department of Kansas, and subsequently the department of the South with his headquarters at Port Royal, S. C.

† Samuel P. Heintzelman, a native of Pennsylvania, entered the West Point Academy in 1822, and on the 1st of July, 1826, was breveted second-lieutenant in the third infantry. He was transferred to the second infantry in 1827, was made a first-lieutenant in March, 1833, and from that date till April, 1836, acted as assistant commissary of subsistence. In 1838 he was appointed quartermaster, with the rank of captain, and resigned his place on the staff in June, 1846. In October, 1847, he was breveted major, for gallantry at the battle of Huamantla, Mexico; colonel May 14th, 1861; brigadier-general of volunteers, May 17th, 1861; commanded third division at Bull Run.

McDowell did not reach Fairfax till the 17th. The left centre encountered some skirmishers, and four men were wounded.

Of the four brigades that formed the advance guard of the first division, under General Tyler, three followed the Alexandria and Leesburg turnpike, to Fall's Church. The march was necessarily slow, the road being narrow and extremely broken, and the nearness of the enemy making it incumbent upon the advance guard to feel their way slowly and cautiously. As the twelve thousand men composing the three first brigades moved solidly and measuredly on, they presented a most magnificent spectacle, when gazed upon from one of the many elevations overlooking the road. The seemingly endless forest of glittering bayonets, undulating with the ascents and descents of the road; the dark mass of humanity rolling on slowly but irresistibly, like a black stream forcing its way through a narrow channel; the waving banners, the martial strains of the numerous bands, the shouts and songs of the men, formed a most inspiring and animated scene, which was contemplated with both amazement and terror by the unprepared country people along the road.

Some of these rustics manifested signs of gratification as the troops passed their several habitations. Others looked upon them with hostile sullenness, while again some made off for the woods as soon as they caught sight of the head of the army.

When Colonel Keyes, riding at the head of the first brigade, came up to a point at the foot of a steep hill, some two and a half miles east of Fall's Church, one of his aids, who had been reconnoitering in advance, dashed up to him and reported having seen two hundred of the enemy's cavalry a short distance ahead, to the right of the road. A halt was at once made, and six companies of the first and an equal number of the second Connecticut regiments deployed as skirmishers to the right and left of the road. Thus protected against surprise, the army again moved on,

and after a march of two hours reached Vienna just before sunset, without coming in sight of the enemy.

Colonel Richardson's fourth brigade soon arrived, and the division encamped for the night of the 16th. The other divisions of the army, Colonel Hunter's second, Colonel Heintzelman's third, and Colonel Miles' fifth divisions, numbering together 40,000, moved by different routes on Fairfax Court-House, which was occupied by one thousand of the enemy. At early dawn of the 17th, the march was resumed, and at one P. M. the first division halted at Germantown; and the same day General McDowell's headquarters were at Fairfax, the enemy retiring in haste as the columns approached.

General McDowell sent the following dispatch to Washington:

"FAIRFAX COURT-HOUSE, July 17th, 1861.

"Colonel E. D. Townsend, Headquarters of the Army at Washington:

"We have occupied Fairfax Court-House, and driven the enemy toward Centreville and Manassas. We have an officer and three men slightly wounded. The enemy's flight was so precipitate that he left in our hands a quantity of flour, fresh beef, intrenching tools, hospital furniture, and baggage. I endeavored to pursue beyond Centreville, but the men were too much exhausted to do so.

"Most respectfully yours,

"IRVIN McDOWELL,  
"Brigadier-General."

Meantime the Confederate forces under General Johnston were in the neighborhood of Martinsburg on the 15th, and were on the 16th repulsed at Bunker Hill by Patterson's troops. They fell back to Winchester on the 17th, and on the 18th to Strasburg, which connects by railroad through the mountains with Manassas Junction. On the same day General Patterson fell back to Harper's Ferry, although he received at the same moment a dispatch from General Scott, informing him of the advance of McDowell to Fairfax on that day, and of the importance of preventing Johnston from joining Beauregard. His retrograde movement, however, left Johnston free to join Beauregard at Manassas.



It is somewhat remarkable that on the day on which McDowell's headquarters were at Fairfax, Johnston fell back to Winchester, and Patterson to Harper's Ferry, and Beauregard telegraphed to the Confederate war department the movement of McDowell, in consequence of which Johnston immediately received an order to form a junction with Beauregard at Manassas.

Meantime General McDowell was using the utmost exertion to force on his men. The difficulties were so great, however, that on the 17th they only made six miles, from Vienna to Germantown. On the 18th the first division was between Germantown and Centreville, and the other divisions were making way slowly, amidst felled trees, with foot-sore and weary troops, who unaccustomed to marching could with difficulty carry their necessary loads.

The disposition of the forces of the enemy was thus:— On the extreme right, at the crossing known as Union Mills Ford, was stationed General Ewell, his left extending along Bull Run toward McLean's Ford, where was stationed D. R. Jones' brigade, which lined the stream to Blackburn's Ford, where was the brigade of Longstreet, that continued the line along the stream to Mitchell's Ford, held by Bonham's brigade, which continued the line from Bonham's left to Coker's brigade, which guarding Island, Ball's, and Lewis' Fords had its left near the Stone Bridge, where was posted Evans' \* demi-brigade, the left of which covered a farm ford about one mile above the bridge. In the rear of Longstreet's brigade, at Blackburn's Ford, was

\* Nathan G. Evans, a South Carolinian, graduated at West Point in 1844, was commissioned second lieutenant of first dragoons in July, 1848, transferred to the second dragoons in September, 1849, made first lieutenant of the second cavalry in March, 1855, and captain the following year. In this capacity he served with distinction under Major Van Dorn against the Comanches in 1858. On the rebellion of South Carolina, he was appointed by the governor adjutant-general of the state forces. He was subsequently made brigadier-general, and with Generals Jackson and Coker, commanded the left wing of the confederates at Bull Run. He also commanded at Leesburg.

Jackson's Virginia brigade, 2,600 strong, and in its rear was the thirteenth Mississippi. In the rear of Blackburn's and McLean's Fords, and within striking distance of either, were the brigades of Bee and Bartow, composed of two Mississippi regiments, the seventh and eighth Georgia, and an Alabama regiment, 2,732 bayonets. The plan of General McDowell was to turn the centre and right of the enemy, while his left menaced their right on Bull Run, and to get round their left altogether; but they had, soon after he moved, advanced their columns to meet him, and brought on an engagement which he was obliged to accept on a ground and at a time where and when he had not contemplated fighting. The initial failure of the movement took place several days earlier, when his columns were late on the march, though ample time had been allowed to them, so that instead of getting to Centreville and to the Run, he was obliged to halt at Fairfax Court-House, and to lose another day in occupying the positions which ought to have been taken when he first advanced.

On the other side, General Beauregard on the 17th being notified that Johnston was to join him, had determined on attacking McDowell at Centreville, and in that view had sent a request for Johnston to march to the right by way of Aldie, and attack the right flank and rear of the Federal army at Centreville. This plan was frustrated by the lack of means of transportation. The order and plan of attack then adopted was found in the camp at Manassas, when it was occupied by the Union troops in 1862. In the mean time General Tyler having reached Centreville on the 18th, proceeded at 11 o'clock to make a reconnoissance in force. He took the fourth brigade, composed of the second and third Michigan, first Massachusetts, twelfth New York, under Colonel Richardson, with Ayres' battery and four companies of cavalry, and proceeded by the road to Blackburn's Ford, where they were met by a strong force. Ayres' battery immediately opened fire, which was responded to by a hitherto unobserved battery. The second

Michigan then rapidly deployed as skirmishers and entered the timber, but encountered a strong force. The other regiments then advanced to the edge of the wood, where they were repulsed by a storm of grape and musketry.

They were now supported by the third brigade of Sherman, headed by the sixty-ninth New York, when the fire was reopened. General McDowell now arrived and ordered a retreat. This movement had developed a degree of strength on the part of the enemy that had not been looked for and induced a change of plan.

It was not until the 20th that headquarters reached Centreville, distant from Manassas seven miles. It is a small village on the western slope of a ridge which runs nearly north and south. The road to Manassas runs lengthwise of this ridge, and crosses Bull Run at Blackburn's Ford, defended by Longstreet, three miles distant. The Warrenton Turnpike running east and west crosses the ridge at right angles with the Manassas road, and running due west four miles, crosses Bull Run by a stone bridge. Between these two crossings, Blackburn's Ford and Stone Bridge, the course of Bull Run is northwest to southeast. The Stone Bridge was defended by a battery of Evans brigade in position; and the road leading to it was impeded by abatis.\* Above or to the north of the bridge were two fords; one about a mile distant was defended on the western bank by Evans' demi-brigade, and the other about two miles further, at Sudley's Springs, undefended. Under these circumstances the following orders were issued:

"HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT NORTH EASTERN VA., }  
Centreville, July 20th, 1861. }

"The commanders of divisions will give the necessary orders that an equal distribution of the subsistence stores on hand may be made immediately to the different companies in their respective commands, so that they shall be provided for the same number of days, and that the same be cooked and put in the haversacks of the men. The subsistence stores now in the possession of each division, with the fresh

\* Felled trees with branches sharpened so as to present pointed stakes to an enemy.

beef that can be drawn from the chief commissary, must last to include the 23d inst.

“By command of

“Brigadier-General McDowell.

“James B. Fry, Assistant Adjutant-General.

“To the Commanders of Divisions and Brigades.”

The above general order, together with the official report of Captain Clark, the chief of the commissary department of the grand army, shows that 160,000 rations—that is rations for 50,000 men for three days—were at Centreville on the morning of the 20th of July.

“HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT ARMY EASTERN VA., {  
Centreville, July 20th, 1861. }

“The enemy has planted a battery on the Warrenton turnpike to defend the passage of Bull Run; has seized the stone bridge and made a heavy abatis on the right bank to oppose our advance in that direction. The ford above the bridge is also guarded, whether with artillery or not is not positively known, but every indication favors the belief that he proposes to defend the passage of the stream.

“*It is intended to turn the position, force the enemy from the road, that it may be re-opened, and, if possible, destroy the railroad leading from Manassas to the valley of Virginia, where the enemy has a large force.* As this may be resisted by all the force of the enemy, the troops will be disposed as follows:

“The first division (General Tyler’s) with the exception of Richardson’s brigade, will, at half-past two o’clock in the morning precisely, be on the Warrenton turnpike to threaten the passage of the bridge, but will not open fire until full daybreak.

“The second division (Hunter’s) will move from its camp at two o’clock in the morning precisely, and, led by Captain Woodbury, of the engineers, will, after passing Cub Run, turn to the right and pass the Bull Run stream above the ford at Sudley’s Spring, and then turning down to the left, descend the stream and clear away the enemy who may be guarding the lower ford and bridge. It will then bear off to the right and make room for the succeeding division.

“The third division (Heintzelman’s) will march at half-past two o’clock in the morning, and follow the road taken by the second division, but will cross at the lower ford after it has been turned as above, and then, going to the left, take place between the stream and second division.

“The fifth division (Miles’) will take position on the Centreville Heights. (Richardson’s brigade will, for the time, form part of the fifth division, and will continue in its present position.) One brigade will be in the village, and one near the present station of Richardson’s brigade. This division will threaten the Blackburn Ford, and remain in reserve at Centreville. The commander will open fire with artillery only, and will bear in mind that it is a demonstration only he is to make. He will cause such defensive works, abatis, earth-

works, &c., to be thrown up as will strengthen his position. Lieutenant Prime, of the engineers, will be charged with this duty.

"These movements may lead to the gravest results, and commanders of divisions and brigades should bear in mind the immense consequences involved. There must be no failure, and every effort must be made to prevent straggling.

"No one must be allowed to leave the ranks without special authority. After completing the movements ordered, the troops must be held in order of battle, as they may be attacked at any moment.

"By command of

"Brigadier-General McDowell.

"James B. Fry, Adjutant-General."

By this order the 1st division, General Tyler's, with the exception of the brigade of Richardson, was to approach the Stone Bridge by the Warrenton road at two and-a-half A. M., but not to fire until daybreak.

The 2d, Hunter's, was ordered to proceed at two o'clock A. M., by the right to the upper ford, cross it, descend by the west bank of Bull Run, and clear the second ford of enemy's troops.

The 3d, Heintzelman's, was ordered to move at two and-a-half o'clock, to cross at the nearest ford, when Hunter having driven back the enemy, should appear on the opposite bank.

The 5th division, Miles', was to take position at Centreville Heights, on the road leading to Blackburn's Ford, with the brigade of Richardson, belonging to the first division. This strong force was placed there, in the fear that while the three divisions were in advance, turning the enemy's left, he might advance from Blackburn's Ford, where the attack of the 18th showed him to be in force, and turn our left, and by possessing himself of the heights of Centreville, inflict a disastrous defeat. This movement was actually ordered by General Beauregard, with a combination that might have proved fatal. General Ewell was directed to begin the movement, to be followed successively by Jones, Longstreet, and Bonham, supported by their reserves. The orders had, however, miscarried until it was too late to make the movement effective. The troops were ordered to strengthen the position with earth-works. The

fourth division, Runyon's New Jersey troops, was held in reserve of the whole at Centreville.

The movements of Federal troops took place as ordered. General Tyler at the Stone Bridge, began his fire at six and-a-half A. M., with a thirty pound rifled Parrott gun; but without drawing any reply from the enemy, who had here eight six pound guns which could not carry so far. The leading brigade (Burnside) of the second division, crossed the ford as directed, but slowly, when great clouds of dust in the direction of Manassas indicated the approach of a large force of the enemy; these were the troops of Johnston approaching on the enemy's left. The troops were then hurried over to sustain Burnside, and Tyler was ordered to press his attack; when Burnside, having crossed, had nearly reached the lower ford the enemy, Wheat's Louisiana battalion and two six pounders, opened upon him with artillery and musketry, with a rude shock.

Porter's brigade, composed of regular troops, and the eighth, fourteenth, and twenty-seventh New York militia, with eight guns, now came up and with a cheer charged upon the enemy, driving them back with great vigor, but received a galling fire from Sloan's fourth South Carolina regiment in the woods. These with Wheat's companies made eleven companies of the enemy driven back, thus clearing the Stone Bridge and allowing Keyes' first brigade of Tyler's division to cross with the Connecticut and Maine men, followed by Sherman's second brigade, which included Corcoran's, Cameron's, and Quimby's regiments. The whole now advanced upon the enemy, driving them from the field and out of the woods. Meantime, Heintzelman had crossed also at Sudley's Springs and moved up to attack a battery, Imboden's, throwing spherical case shot, planted on a hill near the Warrenton road. Ricketts' battery advanced within 1,000 feet of it and opened fire, but was soon disabled by musketry. The Zouaves of Farnham were ordered up to support Ricketts on his right. As they came up they received the fire of





BATTLE AND RETREAT FROM BULL RUN.





the seventh and eighth Georgia regiments under Bartow, partly concealed in a clump of small pines. They were at the same time charged by a company of cavalry, which the Zouaves received with a rolling fire that emptied a dozen saddles. Collom's United States cavalry took the Confederate horsemen in flank and rode them down. The contest continued long and desperate. Three times the enemy charged upon the battery, determined to take it, and three times was he sent flying back, the last time entirely beyond the hill nearly a mile and a half from the Stone Bridge, and the victory was supposed complete. The headquarters of Johnston and Beauregard were half a mile in the rear of Mitchell's Ford, and were, while their left was thus driven in by the 18,000 Union troops that had crossed Bull Run, waiting for the results of the orders given for the advance of Ewell upon the Union left, when a dispatch informed them that the orders had miscarried. Many hours had been lost; a simple demonstration was therefore ordered to Ewell, Jones, Longstreet, and Bonham in their front, and all the reserves ordered to support the left in conjunction with any troops coming from Manassas. There were soon concentrated eight regiments, forty-ninth Virginia, two of Mississippi, sixth North Carolina, and four of Jackson's brigade.

It was now three o'clock P. M. Our men had been on foot since two A. M., and the fight had gone on five hours since ten A. M. Although three days' cooked rations had been served out, many were now destitute of food, and some of the regiments that had been repulsed were unsteady. They were all young soldiers, unused to marches, and were for the first time under fire and broken with fatigue and hunger. At this juncture, Johnston's reinforcements of fresh troops from the railway reached the enemy. They immediately attacked from the woods on our right, throwing in a sharp fire of musketry which caused the weakened regiments to break and retire with a precipitation that soon became a rout. The battalion of regular infantry.

alone moved up the hill and kept the enemy in check. The retreating troops infected those they encountered in their flight, and the rout became a panic, much enhanced by the crowd of civilians, members of Congress, and others that had accompanied the army to witness an assured victory, but who added largely to its disasters. The men became intermingled and all organization was lost. They were covered by Porter's brigade until they reached the Warrenton road. Orders were sent back for Blenker's brigade of Miles' division to move forward and protect the retreat. That regiment advanced so near the Stone Bridge and presented so firm a front that the enemy did not press the pursuit.

While this contest was proceeding, the brigade of Richardson stationed with Miles' division on the ridge, made an attack upon Blackburn's ford, the scene of Tyler's repulse on the 18th. The object was to keep the enemy in check in that direction, to prevent his concentrating upon his left where the real attack was proceeding. The attack was carried out with great vigor and success. While the retreating troops over the Warrenton road were covered in some degree by Blenker's brigade, there was great danger that the enemy might force the passage at Blackburn's ford. The force had been strangely ordered to retreat by Colonel Miles, and were in movement for Centreville when General McDowell arrived, halted it, caused it to take up a defensive line across the ridge, and supported it with the New Jersey regiments of Runyon's division. They held this position until the retreating mass along the Warrenton road passed Centreville, leaving the route encumbered to such a degree that batteries were abandoned. At sundown the retreating force had got on the eastern slope of Centreville, utterly demoralized, and the enemy having passed Blackburn's ford was threatening the left. Blenker's brigade then slowly retired, covering the retreat, which continued all night. The troops finally regained Washington. The enemy did not, however, follow up their

advantage, either through exhaustion or want of force. They in fact reaped no other advantage from their extraordinary fortune than the prestige of a victory and the capture of some munitions of war. The Union loss in this battle was 481 killed, 1,011 wounded, and 1,460 prisoners. The heaviest loss was by the 69th, 31 killed and 82 wounded. Its gallant colonel, Corcoran, was made prisoner.

The unavoidable delays attending imperfect resources were an immediate cause of this disastrous rout, since they prolonged the movement until the time of the three months men had expired, and General McDowell reported:

"A large and the best part of my forces were three months volunteers, whose term of service was about to expire, but who were sent forward as having long enough to serve for the purpose of the expedition. On the eve of the battle the fourth Pennsylvania regiment of volunteers and the battery of volunteer artillery of the New York eighth militia, whose term of service expired, insisted on their discharge. I wrote to the regiment, expressing a request for them to remain a short time, and the honorable secretary of war, who was at the time on the ground, tried to induce the battery to remain at least five days. But in vain. They insisted on their discharge that night. It was granted, and the next morning, when the army moved forward into battle, these troops moved to the rear to the sound of the enemy's cannon."

## CHAPTER VIII.

Missouri's Response to Call for Troops.—Capture of Troops under Frost.—Slaughter of People of St. Louis.—Arming the State.—General Harney.—Truce.—Call for 50,000 Men to repel Invasion.—Strength of Army.—Jefferson captured.—Booneville.—Carthage.—Sigel's Retreat.—General Fremont.—Annapolis, General Banks in Command.—Arrest of Police.—Number of Troops.—General Dix.—Shenandoah.—Concentration of Troops.—Number.—Patterson's Proclamation.—Crosses the Potomac.—Black River.—Reinforcements.—Bunker Hill.—Falling Back.—Order of Relief.—Western Virginia.—General McClellan.—Troops Mustered.—Philippi.—Kelly wounded.—Romney.—Laurel Hill.—Rich Mountain.—Beverly.—St. George.—Western Virginia cleared of Confederates.—McClellan transferred to the Potomac.

THE reply of Governor Jackson, of Missouri, to the requisition of the secretary of war upon the states for troops, was, that the "requisition is illegal, unconstitutional, revolutionary, inhuman, diabolical, and cannot be complied with." The governor, however, assembled, April 25th, a force of 800 men at Camp Jackson, on the outskirts of St. Louis, ostensibly to preserve order in the state. These were under General Frost. They had about five rounds of ammunition, but were not adequately armed or supplied with provisions. Under these circumstances the arsenal at St. Louis was conceived to be in danger; therefore Governor Yates, of Illinois, who held a requisition from the secretary of war for 10,000 stand of arms, which was difficult to serve, put it into the hands of Captain John H. Stokes, of the army, who, by a daring operation, carried off the arms expressed in the order, and a large stock besides, and landed them at Springfield. On the 10th of May, Captain Lyon, in command of the Union forces, with F. P. Blair, colonel of the first Missouri volunteers and a member of Congress, marched to attack Frost's force with 6,000 men.

Captain Lyon summoned General Frost to surrender his force "as hostile to the government of the United States." Finding himself overpowered, Frost surrendered, and, having refused a release on the terms offered them, on the ground that they had already taken the oath of allegiance, and to repeat it would be to admit that they had been in rebellion, the whole force, consisting of 50 officers and 639 privates, were marched as prisoners to the arsenal. On their way a mob pressed upon the guard, who were mostly Germans, using the most opprobrious epithets, striking them, attacking them with stones, and finally firing at them, either from the crowd or from some house on the route. A few of the soldiers fired, at first without injuring any one, and were immediately arrested; the provocations being increased, the captain of one of the companies gave the order to fire, and twenty-five of the bystanders were killed or wounded, some of them women and children. The next day a large body of the German Home Guard passing up Walnut street were hooted, jeered, fired upon, and one soldier was killed. The head of the column turned and fired among the crowd, killing six men and wounding several others. Four of the killed were members of the regiment. These events caused an intense excitement in St. Louis, as well as at the capital of the state, where the legislature, which was in session, immediately passed a bill creating a military fund, by seizing all the money in the state treasury, including the educational funds, making a forced loan from the banks of \$500,000, and issuing \$1,000,000 in bonds, payable in one, two, and three years. The militia of the state, embracing every able-bodied man, were placed under the command of the governor, and were required to take an oath to obey him alone. General Harney, who had been appointed commander of the western department, issued a proclamation the next day declaring this bill a nullity. The general was, however, soon after induced by Sterling Price, then in command of the state (rebel) forces, to enter into a delusive agreement for the

maintenance of peace in the state. On the 30th of May, General Harney was relieved of his command, and Captain Lyon who had been a brigadier-general, appointed his successor. On the 12th of June, Governor Jackson issued a proclamation violently denouncing the United States government, and calling for 50,000 men to "repel invasion and protect the lives, liberty, and property of the citizens of Missouri." On the 13th General Lyon left St. Louis on a steamer with 1,500 men for Jefferson City. Governor Jackson fled, burning the bridges behind him to obstruct pursuit. General Lyon took possession of the capital and of the government, and on the 17th issued a proclamation to the people of the state, assuring them of his intention to protect their liberties, persons, and property, and to arrest and punish those who were traitors. Leaving Colonel Henry Boernstein in command, he departed for Booneville in pursuit of Jackson.

The troops at St. Louis, Cairo, and the neighborhood had gradually increased in numbers to about twenty thousand men, and were now, about the middle of June, composed as follows:

#### CAIRO AND NEIGHBORHOOD.

Officer in command, Brigadier-General B. M. Prentiss.

Regiment.	Where from.	Col. or Chief Officer.
1st Illinois Vol. ....	Alton .....	John Cook.
7th Illinois do. ....	—	J. D. Morgan.
8th Illinois do. ....	Alton .....	R. J. Oglesby.
9th Illinois do. ....	St. Clair county .....	E. A. Paine.
11th Illinois do. ....	—	W. H. L. Wallace.
12th Illinois do. ....	Caseyville .....	John McArthur.
Light Artillery Co. ....	Chicago .....	James Smith.
Light Artillery Co. ....	Lockport .....	— Hawley.
Lincoln Rifles Co. ....	Chicago .....	— Mihalozy.
Union Turners Co. ....	Chicago .....	— Rowald.

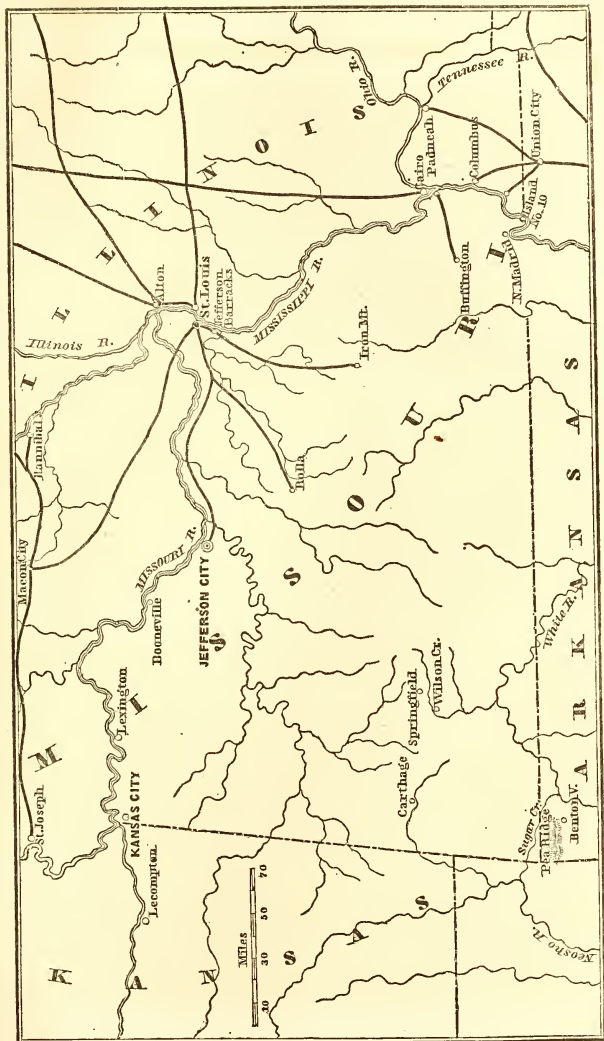
Estimated number of men, about 7,000.

#### MISSOURI, NEAR CAIRO.

Officer in command, acting Brigadier-General Nathaniel Lyon, United States Army.

Regiment.	At Bird's Point.	Col. or Chief Officer.
4th Missouri Vol. ....	1,500 men .....	N. Schuttner.





## AT ST. LOUIS.

First Regiment, Colonel F. P. Blair; Second Regiment, Colonel Boernstein; Third Regiment, Colonel Sigel; Fourth Regiment, Colonel Shuttner; Fifth Regiment, Colonel Solomon; Sixth Regiment (Irish), ——— Stephenson; Seventh Regiment (Bates' Guard), Colonel Bland; Eighth Regiment (American Zouaves of Missouri), ——— Smith.

Besides these were the United States Reserve Corps, which was organized and sworn into service early in May, for three months' service, comprising a brigade of five regiments, as follows:

First Regiment (1,225 men), Colonel Henry Ohmstead.  
 Second Regiment (900 men), Colonel H. Kallman.  
 Third Regiment (935 men), Colonel John McNeil.  
 Fourth Regiment (1,138 men), Colonel B. Gratz Brown.  
 Fifth Regiment (985 men), Colonel Charles G. Stiefel.

Besides the 5,000 United States Reserve Corps, nearly all yet in St. Louis, there were 3,000 Missouri Volunteers in Jefferson barracks and at the arsenal, and 2,560 were in the interior with General Lyon. There were in other parts as follows:

Hannibal Home Guards, and Illinois and Iowa troops at that point.....	3,000
Stationed along Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad. . .	1,000
Stationed along North Missouri Railroad . . . . .	3,600
Stationed along South-west Branch Pacific Railroad .	1,200
Stationed along Main Line Pacific Railroad.....	500
At St. Joseph, including regulars.....	1,000
Kansas City Home Guard and Regulars.....	600
At Herman, United States Reserves .....	500
<i>En route</i> from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to Lexington, Missouri .....	500
At Fort Leavenworth.....	2,000

In south-west Missouri, in and about Springfield, a very respectable force was gathering, under the command of Hon. Mr. Phelps, a member of Congress.

Of these troops, General Lyon had taken Colonel Blair's regiment (first Missouri volunteers), two sections of Totten's battery (regulars), and a detachment of pioneers, in all about 1,500 men, and the necessary camp equipage, provisions, &c., for a long march. The rebels under Governor Jackson and General Price were at Booneville, where they had organized resistance. General Lyon landed four miles below the town, and opened a cannonade upon the rebels, who, under cover of the wood, kept up a brisk fire upon the Federal troops. In order to draw them out, General Lyon ordered a hasty retreat. The *ruse* succeeded.

The rebels ran out into a wheat-field, when General Lyon halted, faced about, and poured in such a fire of grape and musketry, that they dropped their arms and fled in all directions. A large number of prisoners, also arms, ammunition, &c., were taken. It does not appear that the rebels had any commander. Price left for home before the arrival of the Federal troops, and Governor Jackson was at a distance.

Colonel Boernstein issued a proclamation establishing a provisional government in Missouri, and called upon Union men to assist him. General Lyon, from his camp in Boonville, June 19th, also issued a proclamation for the people to return to their duty.

The enemy now concentrated at Rupes Point, under Governor Jackson and General Rains, to the number of about ten thousand. On the 3d of July, they left Rupes Point, and moved south, to Murray's, six miles. Friday morning, at eight o'clock, they broke up camp, and marched south, in the direction of Carthage, the county seat of Jackson (Jasper) county. At Brier Forks, seven miles north of Carthage, they were met by Colonel Sigel, with one thousand five hundred men, who immediately gave them battle. The first onset resulted in the state troops being driven back some distance, and the officers ordered a retreat. The centre gave way, but, the order not being heard on the flanks, the advancing United States troops were in danger of being surrounded themselves, and fell back. They retreated slowly, keeping up the fight, the artillery making fearful havoc among the enemy's ranks.

At the crossing of Dry Fork our lines were very near being broken, when by the timely arrival of two hundred Union men from Shoal's Creek, they crossed, with a loss of but five killed and two mortally wounded. The battle continued, the United States troops alternately fighting and retreating, until dark, when they reached Carthage, having crossed Buck Branch and Spring river. On the way, the fighting was all done with the artillery, Colonel

Sigel retreating as soon as they were got into position, and playing on the enemy's ranks as they advanced.

The retreat of the Federal forces was conducted in a style worthy of veteran troops, and with as much coolness as if on a parade ground, instead of a field of battle.

The loss of the Federal troops was 13 killed and 31 wounded; that of the Confederates was estimated at 350 killed and wounded. Colonel Sigel retreated in the direction of Springfield, where he expected reinforcements.

The measures which had been some time on foot to procure the appointment of General Fremont to the department over General Lyon, now culminated in the following order:

“GENERAL ORDER, NO. 40.

“WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
“WASHINGTON, *July 3d*, 1861.

“The state of Illinois, and the states and territories west of the Mississippi river, and on this side of the Rocky Mountains, including New Mexico, will in future constitute a separate military command, to be known as the ‘Western Department,’ under the command of Major-General Fremont, of the United States Army. Headquarters at St. Louis.

“By order.

“L. THOMAS, *Adjutant-General.*”

The operations in Maryland were, meantime, progressing. On the 30th of May, General Banks was appointed major-general of volunteers, and on the 10th of June assumed command at Annapolis, in place of General Butler, transferred to Fortress Monroe. The secessionists continued busy in this department with various schemes of resistance, but did not escape the vigilance of the commanding officer, who, on the 27th of June, issued a proclamation announcing the arrest and confinement in Fort McHenry, of George P. Kane, chief of police, and appointing Colonel Kenly provost-marshal. On the 1st of July, in pursuance of the policy of weeding out treason in his district, General Banks caused the members of the board of police to be arrested and confined in Fort McHenry.

The strength of this department was now as follows :

Officer in command, Major-General Nathaniel P. Banks; Brigadier-General Maryland forces, James Cooper.

Regiments.	Where located.	Col. or Chief Officer.
6th N. Y. S. Militia.....	Annapolis.....	J. C. Pinckney.
18th N. Y. S. Militia.....	Annapolis.....	Abel Smith.
20th N. Y. S. Militia.....	Annapolis.....	G. W. Pratt.
13th Penn. Volunteers.....	Baltimore.....	W. D. Lewis.
19th Penn. Volunteers.....	Baltimore.....	P. Lyle.
22d Penn. Volunteers.....	Baltimore.....	Max Earnstein.
3d Bat. Mass. Rifles.....	Baltimore.....	C. Devens, Jr.
6th Mass. Vol. Mil.....	Relay House.....	E. F. Jones.
8th Mass. Vol. Mil.....	Relay House.....	E. W. Hincks.
1st U. S. Md. Vol.....	Baltimore.....	J. C. McConnell.
2d U. S. Md. Vol.....	Baltimore.....	—
1st Delaware Vol.....	Havre de Grace..	Henry H. Lockwood.
U. S. Regulars.....	Fort McHenry....	—

Number of men, about 11,000.

On the 19th of July, Major-General Dix was appointed to command in the Annapolis department, thenceforth called Maryland, headquarters, Baltimore; and General Banks transferred to the Valley of Virginia, *vice* Patterson, whose term of service expired July 27th.

While the troops from the East had been pouring into Washington to defend the capital, and had gradually developed the advance movement into Virginia, the Pennsylvania troops were assembling at Chambersburg, to operate in the Valley of Virginia, near Harper's Ferry. At the close of May they numbered some twenty thousand men, composed mostly as follows :

Chief officer in command, Major-General Robert Patterson; Second officer, Major-General William H. Keim. Brigadier-Generals:—First brigade, Colonel Thomas, United States Army; Second brigade, G. C. Wynkoop; Third brigade, E. C. Williams; Fourth brigade, T. S. Negley; Fifth brigade, Colonel Dixon H. Miles, United States Infantry.

Regiment.	Location.	Col. or Chief Officer.
1st Volunteers.....	Chambersburg.....	Samuel Yohe.
2d Volunteers.....	Chambersburg.....	F. S. Stanbaugh.
3d Volunteers.....	Chambersburg.....	F. P. Minier.
6th Volunteers.....	Greencastle.....	James Naglee.
7th Volunteers.....	Greencastle.....	William H. Irwin.
8th Volunteers.....	Greencastle.....	A. N. Emley.

Regiment.	Location.	Col. or chief officer.
9th Volunteers .....	Chambersburg .....	H. C. Longenecker.
10th Volunteers .....	Greencastle .....	S. A. Meredith.
11th Volunteers .....	Chambersburg .....	Frank Jarrett.
12th Volunteers .....	Northern Central R.R.	David Campbell.
13th Volunteers .....	Chambersburg .....	Thomas A. Rowley.
14th Volunteers .....	Chambersburg .....	John W. Johnson.
15th Volunteers .....	Chambersburg .....	Richard A. Oakford.
16th Volunteers .....	Three miles beyond Greencastle .....	Thomas A. Ziegler.
20th Volunteers .....	Greencastle .....	W. H. Gray.
21st Volunteers .....	Greencastle .....	J. E. Palliere.
23d Volunteers .....	Greencastle .....	C. P. Dare.
24th Volunteers .....	Chambersburg .....	J. T. Owens.
Companies B, D, G, H, R, United States In.	Chambersburg .....	—
Fort Sumter, United States Artillery .....	Greencastle .....	Abner Doubleday.
Company F, United States 4th Artillery.	Chambersburg .....	F. S. Belton.
Two other companies United States 3d Inf.	Chambersburg .....	B. E. Bonnerk.
2d United States Cav.	Greencastle .....	P. St. Geo. Cooke.
Philadelphia troop .....	Greencastle .....	T. C. James.
Philadelphia Rangers	Greencastle .....	William McMullin.
4th Volunteers Conn.	Chambersburg .....	L. Woodhouse.
1st Wisconsin .....	— .....	J. Patterson.

In addition to these there were between Washington and Harper's Ferry about six thousand troops, under Major-General Cadwalader, composed as follows:

Regiment.	Where from.	Col. or Chief Officer.
9th State Militia .....	New York .....	J. W. Stiles.
1st Volunteers .....	Connecticut .....	A. H. Terry.
3d Volunteers .....	Connecticut .....	John Arnold.
1st Volunteers .....	New Hampshire .....	M. W. Tappan.
Three bat. Militia .....	District Columbia .....	Colonel Stone.
President's Mounted Guard .....	District Columbia .....	Colonel Stone.
Cavalry Company .....	District Columbia .....	Captain Owen.
Texan Cavalry .....	United States Army .....	—
17th Volunteers .....	Pennsylvania .....	F. E. Patterson.
1st Volunteers .....	Rhode Island .....	A. E. Burnside.
1st Battery .....	Rhode Island .....	Capt. N. Van Slyck, and G. W. Tew.

Some impatience manifested itself on the part of the public, for General Patterson to make a demonstration, but it required time to perfect the necessary preparations.

Finally, June 3d, General Patterson issued a proclamation to the troops announcing immediate action. On the 8th, Colonel Thomas, in command of the first brigade, left Chambersburg, and marched twelve miles, to Greencastle. The enemy, under General J. E. Johnston, held Harper's Ferry, and the line of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad to Cumberland; and were also in force at Point of Rocks on the Potomac. He had burned the bridges between Harper's Ferry and Cumberland. The Maryland Legislature was in session at Frederick, through which troops coming from Washington to reinforce Patterson must pass, and it was thought advisable to wait until the Legislature had adjourned. The headquarters of General Patterson were, however, brought forward to Hagerstown. On the 20th of June, the troops under Colonel Stone, guarding the Potomac at Edwards' Ferry, opposite Leesburg, were attacked from across the river, but the rebels were repulsed with loss by spherical shot. On the 1st of July, orders were issued to cross the Potomac. During the day General Patterson and staff, and all the troops encamped near Hagerstown, except the Connecticut regiment, moved down to Sharpsburg. The plan was to cross the Potomac at two points under cover of the night, the main body directly under the command of Major-General Patterson, at a ford a mile and a half above Shepardstown, and about three miles from Sharpsburg; while about five regiments, under command of Major-General Cadwalader, were to cross at the ford opposite Williamsport. It was proposed to cross the river at both points, the troops over the lower ford, however, a little in advance in point of time, as soon after midnight as it could be well managed. The troops were to march without knapsacks, taking five days' rations in their haversacks, and with forty rounds of cartridges. The baggage-wagons were to follow on as quickly as possible.

The enemy, ten thousand men and four guns, posted on the peninsula formed by a large bend of the river, the



point or end of which is opposite Williamsport, were encamped mainly in the vicinity of Falling Waters. By this advance in front, it was hoped to occupy the attention of the enemy, while by the flank attack he would be cut off in the rear and thus captured.

The attempt to cross at the lower ford, was frustrated by unusual depth of water. The original plan having thus failed, it was ordered that the troops should cross at Williamsport. On the morning of the 2d, Sprague's second Rhode Island arrived from Chambersburg, to take part in the movement. Tuesday morning, at three o'clock, the army got under way.

The ford at that place is narrow, and the river is but little deeper than a creek, being so shallow that a man may wade through it without being wet above the middle. The road on the other side lies parallel with the river until immediately opposite Williamsport, when it turns directly from the stream, and goes, at a gentle acclivity, up the slope and over the fields.

McMullin's Rangers dashed first into the stream; the City Troop and General Patterson and staff followed, and after them came the two regiments of Wisconsin and Pennsylvania.

The remaining regiments took the matter less impetuously. They marched leisurely into a field on the margin of the river, removed their boots, stockings, trowsers, and drawers, wound these articles around their necks, and thus, with the whole lower portion of their bodies nude, and their white muslin shirts flying in the wind, preceded by a full band in similar undress, they plunged into the stream and reached the opposite shore.

Here they readjusted their dress, thus avoiding the wet garments and soaking shoes of their predecessors. The appearance of the regiment thus proceeding, was ludicrous in the extreme.

It was said that the economical Dutchman always took off his good coat on going into a fight, because it might

get spoiled; but these cool Yankees were determined to fight at their ease and comfort. They proceeded five miles, to Porter's field-farm, where they encountered the enemy. After a sharp skirmish, he retreated three miles to Hainesville, and again fell back before the vigorous attack of the advancing column.

The enemy's force was stated at three thousand five hundred Virginians, under Colonel Jackson.

The first Wisconsin and the eleventh Pennsylvania won the honors of the fight. There were three killed and fifteen wounded. The enemy left eight dead on the field, and it was reported there were sixty killed.

General Patterson forwarded the following report:

"BLACK RIVER, NEAR MARTINSBURG, *July 2d, 1861.*

"TO COLONEL E. D. TOWNSEND, *Assistant Adjutant-General:*

"I left Williamsport at six o'clock this morning for this place, and drove back and routed the rebels, who were ten thousand strong, and who had four guns. I now occupy their camp with the loss, I regret to say, of three killed, and ten wounded.

(Signed) "R. PATTERSON, *Major-General Commanding.*"

It is said that General Scott was so much gratified with this news, that the President was waked from his sleep to receive it.

On the 8th of July, General Patterson was established in Martinsburg, and had before him the enemy's force under General Johnston. That day was the one fixed for the advance of General McDowell upon Manassas; but as we have seen in describing his operations, he was delayed, and had his means of transportation diminished, to send as a reinforcement to Patterson the twelfth regiment New York state militia, Colonel Butterfield; the fifth New York state militia, Colonel Schwarzwaelder; the twenty-fourth New York state volunteers, Colonel Donnelly; thirtieth New York, Colonel Frisbie; two Missouri regiments, and one Pennsylvania regiment, which left Washington, July 7th, for Harper's Ferry and Martinsburg. They were joined by Colonel Stone's command,

ninth New York, and district troops, both taking post at Martinsburg, under General Sandford, who left Washington, July 7th, with his staff, and a complete military equipment of howitzers, grape and canister, &c.

The Confederates still held Harper's Ferry ; but on the 14th of July, having heard of McClellan's success in Western Virginia, they destroyed the bridges and public property in the neighborhood, and retreated, by the way of Winchester. General Patterson's column on the 13th left Martinsburg for Winchester. At Bunker Hill on the 15th, the Rhode Island regiment, and the twenty-first and twenty-third Pennsylvania, encountered an advance guard of six hundred rebel cavalry, belonging to Johnston's command ; these were speedily routed. On the same day, Johnston fell back to Winchester. On the 18th, he was five miles beyond Winchester, and near Strasburg, the terminus of the railroad leading to Manassas. After the fight at Bunker Hill, Patterson retrograded to Charleston, where he was on the 17th, the day he was telegraphed by General Scott to follow Johnston closely ; but Johnston was then beyond his reach, and on his way to reinforce Beauregard at Manassas, which he reached by rail in time to turn the tide of battle at Bull Run.

In the midst of these events the following order was issued :

"THE ORDER OF RELIEF.

"WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
"WASHINGTON, *July 19th, 1861.*

"*General Orders, No. 46.*

"1. Major-General Robert Patterson, of the Pennsylvania volunteers, will be honorably discharged from the service of the United States, on the 27th instant, when his term of duty will expire. Brevet Major-General Cadwalader, also of the Pennsylvania volunteers, will be honorably discharged upon the receipt of this order, as his term of service expires to-day.

"2. Major-General Dix, of the United States forces, will relieve Major-General Banks of the same service, in his present command, which will in future be called the department of Maryland, headquarters at Baltimore. Upon being relieved by Major-General Dix, Major-General Banks will proceed to the Valley of Virginia, and as-

sume command of the army now under Major-General Patterson, when that department will be called the department of the Shenandoah, headquarters in the field.

"3. The following-named general officers will be honorably discharged upon the expiration of their terms of service, as set herein after opposite their respective names, viz. :

"New York State Militia—Major-General Sandford, August 18th, 1861.

"New Jersey Volunteers—Brigadier-General Theo. Runyon, July 30th, 1861.

"Ohio Volunteers—Brigadier-General J. D. Cox, July 30th, 1861 ; Brigadier-General Robert C. Schenck, July 30th, 1861 ; Brigadier-General J. N. Bates, August 27th, 1861.

"Indiana Volunteers—Brigadier-General T. A. Morris, July 27th, 1861."

"4. Surgeons of brigades rank as surgeons only.

"5. Officers mustering out volunteers will charge upon the roll the indebtedness of the troops to the state by which they were furnished.

"By order.

"L. THOMAS, *Adjutant-General*."

This order explains itself. Most of the troops of these several commands were three months' men, to be mustered out of the service with their commanders.

General Patterson, who had been severely blamed for his remissness in not following up Johnston, in a private letter, dated Harper's Ferry, 22d of July, said :

"General Johnston retreated to Winchester, where he had thrown up extensive intrenchments, and had a large number of heavy guns. I could have turned his position and attacked him in the rear, but he had received large reinforcements from Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, a total force of over thirty-five thousand rebel troops, and five thousand Virginia militia. My force is less than twenty thousand men. Nineteen regiments, whose term of service was up, or would be within a week, all refused to stay an hour over their time but four, viz.: two Indiana regiments, Frank Jarrett's (the eleventh Pennsylvania), and Owens' (the twenty-fourth Pennsylvania). Five regiments have gone home. Two more go to-day, and three more to-morrow. To avoid being cut off with the remainder, I fell back and occupied this place."

These events closed the operations of the army in the Valley of Virginia. The movements in the department of the Ohio come next in order.

On the 11th of May, by general order, the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were constituted a fourth military department, under the command of Major-General

G. B. McClellan, of the Ohio Volunteers, headquarters, Cincinnati. Under the vigorous operations of General McClellan the first decided successes attended the Union arms. The army of this department was immediately organized and disposed for active service.

General Morris, of the Indiana troops, issued a proclamation, from his headquarters, Grafton, calling for volunteers, and at the close of May the force in the department was as follows:

#### CINCINNATI, OHIO, AND WESTERN VIRGINIA.

Officer in command, Major-General G. B. McClellan, U. S. A.; headquarters, Cumberland; aid, F. W. Lander.\*

Second do., Brigadier-General Robert Anderson, U. S. A.; headquarters, Cincinnati.

Regiment.	Location.	Chief Officer.
3d Ohio Volunteers.....	Camp Dennison.....	J. H. Morrow.
4th Ohio Volunteers.....	Camp Dennison.....	Lorin Andrews.
* 5th Ohio Volunteers.....	Camp Dennison.....	S. H. Dunning.
6th Ohio Volunteers.....	Camp Dennison.....	M. C. Bosley.
7th Ohio Volunteers.....	Camp Dennison.....	E. B. Tyler.
8th Ohio Volunteers.....	Camp Dennison.....	H. G. De Puy.
9th Ohio Volunteers.....	Camp Dennison.....	R. L. McCook.
10th Ohio Volunteers.....	Camp Dennison.....	W. H. Lytle.
11th Ohio Volunteers.....	Camp Dennison.....	J. P. Harrison.
12th Ohio Volunteers.....	Camp Dennison.....	J. W. Lowe.
13th Ohio Volunteers.....	Camp Dennison.....	A. S. Platt.
14th Ohio Volunteers.....	Cumberland.....	J. B. Steedman.
15th Ohio Volunteers.....	Grafton.....	G. W. Andrews.
16th Ohio Volunteers.....	Cumberland.....	J. Irvine.
17th Ohio Volunteers.....	Lancaster, Ohio.....	J. McConnell.
18th Ohio Volunteers.....	Clarksburg.....	T. R. Stanley.
19th Ohio Volunteers.....	Cincinnati, Ohio.....	S. Beatty.
20th Ohio Volunteers.....	Zanesville, Ohio.....	T. Morton.
21st Ohio Volunteers.....	Gallipolis, Ohio.....	J. S. Norton.
22d Ohio Volunteers.....	Grafton.....	W. E. Gilmore.
1st U. S. Virginia Vol....	Grafton.....	B. F. Kelley.
2d U. S. Virginia Vol....	Wheeling.....	C. D. Hubbard.
1st Kentucky Vol.....	Cincinnati.....	Col. Guthrie.

\* Frederick W. Lander was born in Massachusetts, and became superintendent of the overland wagon-road, in 1859 and 1860, to California, and was there very successful in his operations against the Indians. He was second to Hon. E. F. Potter, of Wisconsin, in his proposed duel with Roger A. Pryor, of Virginia. He was at the battle of Rich Mountain, was made brigadier-general May 17th, 1861, and died March 2d, 1862, in consequence of an unhealed wound received at the battle of Ball's Bluff.

Regiment.	Location.	Chief Officer.
2d Kentucky Vol . . . . .	Cincinnati . . . . .	— Woodruff.
Coldwater Mich. Art'y . . . . .	Cincinnati . . . . .	J. W. Culp.
6th Indiana Volunteers . . . . .	Grafton, &c . . . . .	T. T. Crittenden.
7th Indiana Volunteers . . . . .	Grafton . . . . .	E. Dumont.
9th Indiana Volunteers . . . . .	Grafton . . . . .	— Milroy.
11th Indiana Volunteers . . . . .	Cumberland . . . . .	L. Wallace.
8th, 10th, and 13th Indiana Volunteers.		
Brigadier-generals at Camp Dennison, first brigade, J. N. Bates		
second brigade, J. D. Cox; third brigade, — Schleich.		
Brigadier-general Indiana troops, T. A. Morris.		
Estimated number of men, about 25,000.		

On the morning of the 2d of June, a movement was made by the forces under General Morris, to dislodge the rebels under Colonel Porterfield, who held Philippi with 1,500 to 2,000 troops. The first Virginia, Colonel B. F. Kelley, the sixteenth Ohio, Colonel J. Irvine, and the seventh Indiana formed the first division of the advance under Colonel Kelley. The second division was formed of the ninth Indiana, Colonel Milroy, the sixth Indiana, Colonel Crittenden, the Ohio fourteenth, Colonel Steedman, under Colonel F. W. Lander. Both divisions were under Colonel E. Dumont. The first division moved by railroad five miles to Thornton, and then marched twenty-two miles to Philippi. The Indiana ninth went by rail to Webster, where they were joined by the fourteenth Ohio coming from Cumberland, and then marched upon Philippi. The night was terribly stormy, and the march of the two divisions was toilsome in the extreme. The plan was to attack the place at four o'clock in the morning; Colonel Kelley in the rear, and Colonel Lander in front. The storm and darkness, however, caused the combination to fail. As Lander approached Philippi a woman fired twice, and sent her little boy across the mountains to give Porterfield notice. Kelley missed his point, and instead of coming in on the Beverly road above the town to cut off their retreat, did so below the town, and much behind time. Thus the enemy were apprised of the movement, and Lander opened fire upon them with his artillery. Soon after Kelley made his appearance on the enemy's side of the river, and im-

mediately attacked, Colonel Kelley leading, when the enemy retired. Colonel Lander's force then crossed the bridge, and the whole advanced upon the flying enemy, when Colonel Kelley received a shot and fell. He was carried to the rear, and received prompt attention. The enemy retired to Leedsville, two miles distant, where they were again vigorously attacked and repulsed.

Colonel Kelley\* was carried on a litter back to Grafton, in company with the Ohio fourteenth and sixteenth. His wound, though severe, did not prove mortal, and on the 26th of June he was appointed brigadier-general of the Western Virginia troops.

Colonel Lander, after the affair, left for Cincinnati, Governor Dennison having tendered him the post of brigadier-general in the Ohio volunteer force, which he accepted.

The rebels, falling back upon Beverly, received large reinforcements, and again advanced toward Philippi, but took post under General Garnett, at Laurel Hill.

On the 11th of June, Colonel Wallace, with the eleventh Indiana Zouaves, left Cumberland for Romney, where were stationed five hundred secession troops. After a sharp conflict he completely routed them, and seized a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition, and then returned to Cumberland. The rebels retreated toward Winchester.

The rebels were now concentrated in considerable numbers in Western Virginia. The Alleghany mountains running in a south-westerly course from Cumberland

\* Benjamin F. Kelley was born in Deerfield, N. H. He was educated at West Point. For a while he lived in Wheeling, Va., where, as colonel, he commanded a regiment of militia; but for thirteen years past he has resided at Philadelphia, acting during the greater part of that time as freight agent of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. At the beginning of the war he was invited by his friends in Wheeling to take the field at the head of his old regiment. He marched on Grafton and Philippi. At Philippi he was supposed to have been mortally wounded, but recovered, and for his gallant conduct was made brigadier-general on the 17th of May. On the 26th of October he again distinguished himself by a successful attack on Romney.



to Covington, Virginia, present a wall through which the rebel forces could escape into Eastern Virginia only at the Cheat Mountain Pass. This was held, at the close of June, by a considerable force under General Jackson, who had been a judge at Parkersburg. From Cheat Mountain the road proceeds northerly, and parallel to the mountain range, through Huttonville to Rich Mountain, which was held by the rebel Colonel Pegram with 3,000 men, and some five or six guns, and was strongly entrenched. From Rich Mountain the road passes through Beverly to Laurel Hill, held by Brigadier-General Garnett. Thus the enemy held three strong positions, and had, in all, probably 14,000 men.

On the 6th of July, General Morris received orders to move his whole force to within a mile of the enemy's fortifications at Laurel Hill. They reached their destination on the 8th, and on the 9th sharp skirmishes took place between his advance, composed of the ninth Indiana, Milroy, and the fourteenth Ohio, Steedman, and some Georgia troops belonging to Garnett's force. The enemy's cavalry attacked, and were repulsed with a few rounds of shell. General Morris so disposed his troops as to guard every outlet from Laurel Hill, except that which leads to Beverly. In the mean time the column under McClellan pursued a route more to the west. On the 6th of July, being then in the neighborhood of Buckhannon, Captain Lawson's company of the third Ohio was detached, by order of General Schleich, to scout, and they proceeded to Beverly pike, where they soon discovered a rebel force, comprising the advanced posts of the enemy, whose scouts discovered him, and both parties fired, with some loss on both sides. The enemy were three hundred Georgians. Valuable information was thus obtained of the topography of the region. But the enterprise was calculated to alarm the enemy. The column proceeded, however, and arrived near Rich Mountain on the 10th of July. On the 11th

Brigadier-General Rosecrans,\* who had been promoted from the coloneley of the twenty-third Ohio, advanced with his column, composed of the eighth Indiana, Benton, tenth Indiana, Manson, thirteenth Indiana, Sullivan, and nineteenth Ohio, Beatty, and by a forced march of eight miles through the mountain reached the turnpike, three miles in the rear of the enemy at Rich Mountain, defeated his advance guard, and captured two guns. General McClellan advanced in front, completed the defeat of the enemy, who lost all his guns, wagons, &c. Rosecrans immediately pushed on to Beverly, following the flying enemy. The loss on the Union side was twenty killed and forty wounded.

While these events were transpiring, General Garnett at Laurel Hill heard of the approach of McClellan to Beverly, and evacuated Laurel Hill in great haste, to gain Cheat Mountain Pass, in hopes to pass Beverly before McClellan should reach it. On the morning of the 12th, the evacuation was discovered, and the ninth Indiana of Morris' division immediately advanced in pursuit. The rebels when within three miles of Beverly, met secessionists flying from Rich Mountain. They then returned toward Laurel Hill, whence Morris' force was approaching, thus taking them between two fires. They therefore took the road to the right, which goes through Leedsville to the Cheat river. General Morris, who had been in front of Laurel Hill, pursued a mile or two beyond Leedsville, and then, 11 o'clock P. M., halted until 3 o'clock A. M., when the pursuit was resumed, amid incessant rain. The enemy, meantime, struck

\* William S. Rosecrans is from Ohio. He entered West Point in 1838, in 1842 graduated as second-lieutenant of engineers. He was acting assistant professor of engineers at West Point to 1844, and of natural and experimental philosophy to 1847. He received a commission as first-lieutenant in March, 1853, and retired to civil life in 1854. On the breaking out of the war he was appointed to a command under General McClellan. He served with distinction in Western Virginia, was made brigadier-general May 16th, 1861, and afterward succeeded McClellan in the chief command there, of which he was relieved by General Fremont.

the Cheat river, and pursued the mountain road down the valley. Our advance, composed of the fourteenth Ohio, and the seventh and ninth Indiana regiments, about 2,000 men, pushed on, guided through the mountain gullies by the tents, camp-furniture, provisions and knapsacks, thrown from the wagons of the secessionists to facilitate their flight. Our troops forded Cheat river four times, and finally, about one o'clock, came up with the enemy's rear guard. The fourteenth Ohio advanced rapidly to the ford in which the enemy's wagons were standing, when, suddenly, the secession army, about 4,000 strong, opened a furious fire on them with small arms and two rifled cannon from the bluff on the opposite side of the river, about 200 yards distant, where they had been concealed.

The firing was too high, cutting the trees above the heads of the men. The fourteenth returned it with spirit. Meanwhile two pieces of the Cleveland artillery came up and opened on the secessionists. The ninth Indiana then advanced to support the fourteenth Ohio's left, while the seventh Indiana crossed the river between the two fires and came in on the enemy's right flank. The secessionists soon fled in great disorder, leaving their finest piece of artillery.

On the 13th of July, at the next ford (Carricksford), a quarter of a mile further on, General Garnett attempted to rally his forces, when the seventh Indiana came up in hot pursuit, and another brisk engagement ensued. General Garnett was finally shot dead, when his army fled in wild confusion toward St. George, to escape into Northern Virginia.

The seventh Indiana regiment pursued them a mile or two, but as the men were so much exhausted with their forced march of twenty miles, with but little rest from the march of the previous day, General Morris refused to let them pursue further. The results of the whole affair were, the capture of the secession camp at Laurel Hill, a large amount of tents, camp equipage, forty baggage-wagons, a

field camp-chest, supposed to contain all their money, two regimental banners, one of them that of the Georgia regiment, four Georgia captains and lieutenants, and a large number of Virginia officers, besides the killing of General Garnett and twenty-six of his men, and wounding a much larger number. The Union loss was thirteen killed, and forty wounded. The losses in these four engagements were as follows:

	UNION.		CONFEDERATE.		
	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.
Laurel Hill.....	4	7	25	40	15
Rich Mountain.....	20	40	50	100	110
Beverly.....	—	—	—	—	600
St. George.....	13	40	60	140	300
Total.....	37	87	135	280	1,025.

These energetic and able movements cleared Western Virginia of Confederate forces, and exposed Johnston, who was then in front of Patterson, where he received news of these victories of McClellan on the 14th, the day he broke up from Harper's Ferry and retreated by way of Winchester, which he reached on the 18th. These brief and important operations closed General McClellan's career in the department of the Ohio, within a few days of the disastrous events which disorganized the army of the Potomac. Their effect was to indicate McClellan as the leader needed to reorganize and consolidate the army of the North, and he was transferred to the command of the army of the Potomac.



MAJ. GEN. N. P. BANKS.



MAJ. GEN. I. McDOWELL.



MAJ. GEN. M. C. CLELLAN



MAJ. GEN. B. F. BUTLER.



MAJ. GEN. WOOL.



MAJ. GEN. A. E. BURNSIDE



MAJ. GEN. HALLECK.



MAJ. GEN. T. W. SHERMAN.



MAJ. GEN. D. C. BUELL.



MAJ. GEN. GRANT.



MAJ. GEN. J. C. FREMONT.



GEN. W. S. ROSECRANS.



## CHAPTER IX.

The Mutual Disrespect North and South.—The Effect of the Battle of Bull Run.—It stimulates Enlistments at the North.—Confederate Congress.—President Davis.—Vice-President Stephens.—Mr. Davis' Message.—Secret Sessions.—Paris Conference.—Privateering.—United States Proposition.—Mr. Seward's Assent rejected.—Affairs in Missouri.—Jackson's Proclamation.—Governorship declared Vacant.—Missouri admitted to the Confederacy.—Commissioners to Europe.—Alien Law.—Sequestration Law.—Increase of Military Force.—Southern Armies.—New Generals.—Beauregard promoted.—Confederate Finances.

WE have now brought our history to the close of its first period, when the impatience of the people, and the imperfect preparation and training of the troops, hitherto unskilled in the art of war, led to the disastrous battle of Bull Run. From that field of blood, and the humiliation which followed, the North emerged with a purer patriotism, a courage and zeal which rose above defeat, and a determination to put forth all her energies to crush out the rebellion. She had hitherto underrated her foes, and had believed that her legions could scatter them almost with a word; she now appreciated them more justly, but a determination to conquer them nerved her arm more strongly for the fight, from the consciousness that she had found a foeman worthy of her steel. The work of enlistment went on with great rapidity, and before the Confederate forces had recovered from the terrible havoc made in their ranks, the danger which for a few days after the battle had threatened the capital was past, and new regiments were stretching their lines of defence in every direction around it. At the South the effect was different; it seemed to sustain the views there held, that the Northern troops could not withstand the shock of arms when opposed to the South. This



impression, it has been alleged, was of great detriment to the Southern cause, since it prevented that persevering and energetic preparation, which was indispensable even to a defensive policy, and which the North undertook with that vigorous determination and patient perseverance which alone could insure success. The battle took place on the 21st. The Confederate Congress, which had adjourned May 20th, at Montgomery, to meet in Richmond, assembled July 20th, in the hall of the House of Delegates.

Hon. Howell Cobb, in the chair, called the assembly to order.

The Rev. Dr. S. K. Talmadge, of Georgia, then offered up a prayer.

The names of the executive, cabinet and members of Congress of all the states except Tennessee, Texas, and Arkansas, are embraced in the following list:

#### THE EXECUTIVE.

President. . . . . Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi.\*  
Vice-President. . . . . Alex. H. Stephens, of Georgia.†

\* Jefferson Davis was born June 3d, 1808, in Christian county, Ky., but removed with his family in childhood to Mississippi. He entered Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky., in 1822 or 1823, and in 1824 left the university to enter the Military Academy at West Point, where he graduated in 1828. He remained in the army seven years, was promoted to a first-lieutenancy, served in the Black Hawk war, and in 1835 resigned his commission, and retired to a plantation in Mississippi. In 1844 he was one of the Democratic presidential electors. In 1845 he was elected a representative in Congress, and in July, 1846, resigned his seat, and took command of the first regiment Mississippi volunteers in the Mexican war, distinguished himself at Monterey and at Buena Vista, and in the latter battle was severely wounded. He was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers by President Polk, but declined on state-rights grounds. He was elected to the United States Senate in January, 1848, to fill an unexpired time, and in 1850 re-elected. He resigned in 1851, to run as candidate for governor of Mississippi, but was defeated. In 1853 he was called into President Pierce's cabinet as secretary of war, and in 1857 returned again to the Senate. He resigned his seat in the Senate on the 21st of January, 1861, on the occasion of the secession of Mississippi, and in February was elected provisional president of the Confederate States.

† Alexander H. Stephens was born in Georgia on the 11th of February,

## THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....	Robert Toombs, of Georgia.*
Secretary of the Treasury.....	C. G. Memminger, of South Carolina.
Secretary of War.....	Leroy P. Walker, of Alabama.
Secretary of the Navy.....	Stephen R. Mallory, of Florida.
Postmaster-General.....	J. H. Reagan, of Texas.
Attorney-General.....	Judah P. Benjamin, of Louisiana.

## MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

## VIRGINIA.

- James A. Seddon,
- Wm. Ballard Preston,
1. R. M. T. Hunter,
2. John Tyler,
3. Wm. H. Macfarland,
4. Roger A. Pryor,
5. Thomas S. Bococké,
6. Wm. S. Rives,
7. Robert E. Scott,
8. James M. Mason,
9. J. W. Brockenbrough,
10. Chas. W. Russell,
11. Robert Johnson,
12. Walter R. Staples,
13. Walter Preston.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

- Geo. Davis,
- W. W. Avery,
1. W. N. H. Smith,
2. Thomas Ruffin,

3. T. D. McDowell,
4. A. W. Venable,
5. J. M. Morehead,
6. R. C. Puryear,
7. Burton Craige,
8. E. A. Davidson.

## ALABAMA.

1. R. W. Walker,
2. R. H. Smith,
3. J. L. M. Curry,
4. W. P. Chilton,
5. S. F. Hale,
6. Colin J. McRae,
7. John Gill Shorter,
8. David P. Lewis,
9. Thomas Fearn.

## FLORIDA.

1. Jackson Morton,
2. J. P. Anderson,
3. J. Powers.

1812. Assisted by friends, he entered the University of Georgia in 1828, and in 1832 graduated at the head of his class. In 1834 he commenced the study of the law, and in less than twelve months was engaged in one of the most important cases in the country. From 1837 to 1840 he was a member of the Georgia Legislature. In 1842 he was elected to the State Senate, and in 1843 was elected to Congress as a Whig. In the House he was chairman of the Committee on Territories, and effected the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill through the House. He was elected Vice-President of the Confederate States in February, 1861.

\* Robert Toombs was born in Washington, Wilkes county, Ga., July 2d, 1810, graduated at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., in 1828, and studied law at the University of Virginia. In 1836 he served as captain of volunteers under General Scott, in the Creek war. He was elected to the state legislature in 1837, to Congress in 1845, to the United States Senate in 1853, and re-elected in 1859. He withdrew from the Senate January 23d, 1861, on the secession of Georgia, was appointed secretary of state of the Confederate states, February 21st, and in July resigned, and was soon after appointed a brigadier-general in the Confederate army.

## GEORGIA.

1. Robert Toombs,
2. Howell Cobb,
3. Francis S. Bartow,
4. Martin J. Crawford,
5. Eugenius A. Nisbett,
6. Benjamin H. Hill,
7. A. B. Wright,
8. Thomas P. R. Cobb,
9. Augustus H. Keenan,
10. Alex. H. Stephens.

## LOUISIANA.

- 1 John Perkins, Jr.,
2. A. DeClouet,
3. Charles M. Conrad,
4. D. F. Kenner,
5. Edward Sparrow,
6. Henry Marshall.

## MISSISSIPPI.

1. Willie P. Harris,
2. Walker Brooke,
3. W. S. Wilson,
4. A. M. Clayton,
5. W. S. Barry,
6. James T. Harrison,
7. J. A. P. Campbell.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

1. R. B. Rhett, Sr.
2. R. W. Barnwell,
3. L. M. Keitt,
4. James Chesnut, Jr.,
5. C. G. Memminger,
6. W. Porcher Miles,
7. Thomas J. Withers,
8. W. W. Boyce.

## THE STANDING COMMITTEES.

On Foreign Affairs—Messrs. Rhett, Nisbet, Perkins, Walker, Keitt.

On Finance—Messrs. Toombs, Barnwell, Kenner, Barry, McRae.

On Commercial Affairs—Messrs. Memminger, Crawford, DeClouet, Morton, Curry.

On the Judiciary—Messrs. Clayton, Withers, Hale, Cobb, Harris.

On Naval Affairs—Messrs. Conrad, Chesnut, Smith, Wright, Powers.

On Military Affairs—Messrs. Bartow, Miles, Sparrow, Keenan, Anderson.

On Postal Affairs—Messrs. Chilton, Boyce, Hill, Harrison, Curry.

On Patents—Messrs. Brooke, Wilson, Lewis, Hill, Kenner.

On Territories—Messrs. Chesnut, Campbell, Marshall, Nisbitt, Fearn.

On Public Lands—Messrs. Marshall, Harris, Fearn, Anderson, Wright.

On Indian Affairs—Messrs. Morton, Hale, Lewis, Keitt, Sparrow.

On Printing—Messrs. T. R. R. Cobb, Harrison, Miles, Chilton, Perkins.

On Accounts—Messrs. Powers, DeClouet, Campbell, Smith, Crawford.

On Engrossments—Messrs. Shorter, Wilson, Keenan, McRae, Bartow.

Mr. Davis sent in a message, in which he congratulated the Congress on the accession of new members from North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas. He stated that the message of President Lincoln, corroborated by the action of Congress, avowed the intention of subjugating the South; that Mr. Lincoln's message openly boasted of the success with which the Northern people had been deceived into

the belief that the South intended an aggressive war; that Mr. Lincoln admitted that he had violated an armistice in reënforcing Fort Pickens; that Mr. Lincoln, while admitting that he had sent notice to the Governor of South Carolina of the approach of a hostile fleet, charged the South with being the aggressors; that the advice of the President to call out 400,000 men, followed by the action of Congress in authorizing 500,000, is a distinct avowal that the United States are engaged in a conflict with a great and powerful nation; that the embargo and blockade are a recognition of the Confederate States. Mr. Davis charged that the war was waged with a savage ferocity unknown in modern civilization; that grain crops and private houses, deserted by peaceable citizens flying from the outrages of a brute soldiery, were consumed by the torch; that property respected by British and Hessians in 1781, was pillaged and destroyed by people pretending to be fellow-citizens; said he, "Mankind will shudder at the tales of outrages committed on defenceless families by soldiers of the United States;" that special war was made upon the sick women and children by seeking to deprive them of medicines. He spoke of the prisoners taken by the United States in the schooner Savannah, and of the message he had sent to the Government at Washington to exchange them, and of the hostages he held for the safety of those prisoners; he referred to the Border States and their sympathies with the South; to the suspension of the *habeas corpus* by the Federal executive, and other measures.

"We may well rejoice," said he, "that we have forever severed our connection with a government that thus tramples on all principles of constitutional liberty, and with a people in whose presence such avowals could be hazarded."

He alluded to the additional force required; to the abundance of the crops; stated that fifty millions had been subscribed in cotton, &c.

The proceedings of the Congress were mostly conducted

in secret session. Among the first acts of the Congress was that to adopt the convention of Paris in 1856 in respect to maritime law. The interpolations of the Paris convention into maritime law had been a subject of discussion between the foreign powers and Mr. Pierce's administration. The proposition had been made that enemies' goods should be respected in neutral ships, and that neutral ships and goods should be free from the belligerent right of search. To this was added the abolition of privateering in time of war. Mr. Marey had replied that the United States Government would accept the proposition in all respects except in relation to privateers. He stated that it was not the policy of the United States to maintain large standing armies or navies, which were opposed to the genius of our institutions; that the United States depended in time of war upon militia for protection; that merchant vessels or privateers were our "militia of the seas," and we could not be expected to deprive ourselves of that arm. Nevertheless, if the governments would consent that all private property should be exempt from capture in time of war, he would consent to abolish privateering. When men-of-war are empowered to capture and destroy merchant vessels, they only do what privateers are commissioned for, and there was no justice in doing away with the latter, unless the former were restricted to public ships in their operations. To this proposition Great Britain and France refused their assent, and the matter remained in abeyance. Soon after Mr. Seward entered upon his duties as secretary of state, he renewed the proposition, but it was again rejected. He then proposed to accede to the principles laid down by the Paris convention, including privateering. Earl Russell signified his willingness to sign the convention when the emperor of the French had consented to it; but on the 29th of July he stated to Mr. Adams, the American minister, that "on the part of Great Britain the engagement would be prospective, and not invalidate any thing already done." An explanation

of this statement being sought, he gave it in the form of a declaration, that her majesty did not intend thereby to undertake any engagement which should have a bearing, direct or indirect, on the internal differences now prevailing in the United States. As this left Southern privateering untouched, Mr. Seward refused to assent to the convention.

In Missouri Governor Jackson demanded that no United States troops should be quartered in or marched through the state; but General Lyon asserted the right of the government to send troops into any part of the state, and his forces continued to gather strength. On the 12th of June, Jackson issued a proclamation, calling for 50,000 men to "repel the invasion," and the next day fled from the capital, and gathered what secession force he could in the southwest part of the state. The state convention reassembled at the capital on the 25th of July, and on the 30th, by a vote of fifty-six to twenty-five, passed a resolution vacating the state offices, and appointed a new election to be held in November. Hamilton R. Gamble was appointed provisional governor. He issued a proclamation enjoining all citizens to enroll themselves for the defence of the state, and ordering Confederate troops to quit it.

The Confederate Congress now passed a law to admit Missouri into the Confederacy, on the conditions that Missouri should duly ratify the constitution of the Southern Confederacy through her legally constituted authority, which authority was declared to be the government of Governor Jackson, who was deposed by the state convention. President Davis was also authorized to muster into the Confederate service, in Missouri, such troops as should volunteer to serve in the Southern army. The bill likewise empowered the President of the Confederate States, at his discretion, at any time prior to the admission of said state as a member of the Confederacy, to perfect and proclaim an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the said government, limited to the period of the existing war between the Confederacy and the United States; the said treaty or alliance

to be in force from the date thereof, and until the same shall be disaffirmed or rejected by this Congress.

Early in the year there had been appointed two commissioners to Europe, Mr. Rost and Mr. Yancey, to negotiate a recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and also, if practicable, treaties of commerce. These did not meet with the desired success, and the Confederate Congress empowered the President to appoint two more, to receive full powers. The arrest at a subsequent period of these agents upon the high seas gave rise to very serious complications.

The Confederate Congress now passed another act of great importance, no less than ordering all citizens of the United States to depart the country within forty days.

"SEC. 3. Immediately after the passage of this act, the President of the Confederate States shall, by proclamation, require all citizens of the United States, being males of fourteen years and upward, within the Confederate States, and adhering to the government of the United States, to depart from the Confederate States, within forty hours from the date of such proclamation; and such persons remaining within the Confederate States after that time shall become liable to be treated as alien enemies."

This law fell with peculiar hardship upon many Northerners. Many of them who ventured into the Confederate States to secure property were arrested. This law was of the same nature as the alien and sedition law enacted by the Adams administration in 1798, since it invested the executive with discretionary power to order aliens whom he might deem dangerous out of the country. With the same scope and intent as this act was the "sequestration act," passed August 30th, of which the title was as follows: "*A Bill to be entitled an Act for the sequestration of the estate, property, and effects of alien enemies, and for indemnity of citizens of the Confederate States, and persons aiding the same in the existing war with the United States.*"

The bill recites, in the nature of a preamble, the departure of the government and the people of the United States from the usages of civilized warfare, in confiscating



and destroying the property of the people of the Confederate States, of all kinds, whether used for military purposes or not; and the necessity of retaliation to restrain the wanton excesses of the enemy.

“Be it enacted by the Congress of the Confederate States, that all lands, goods, rights, and credits within these Confederate States, owned by any alien enemy since the 21st day of May, 1861, be sequestered by the Confederate States of America, and shall be held for the full indemnity of any citizen and a resident of these Confederate States, or other person aiding said Confederate States in the prosecution of the present war, and for which he may suffer any loss or injury under the act of the United States to which this act is retaliatory, authorizing the seizure or confiscation of the property of citizens or residents of the Confederate States, and the same shall be seized and disposed of as provided for in this act.”

This law was meant to indemnify such persons as suffered through the confiscations made by the United States under the law of August 6th.

The military legislation was actively pushed. The secretary of war had reported that the number of troops raised amounted to ninety-four regiments and thirty-four battalions, with some additional cavalry troops, and he advised the further raising of the number to three hundred regiments. The Southern forces consisted of two distinct armies—the provisional and the regular Confederate armies. The provisionals were enlisted for the space of twelve months, to go wherever ordered. Most of the forces belonged to this class, which was generally made up of volunteer state militia. Their uniform varied, much the same as the volunteers of the Northern state militia. Their pay was \$11 per month. The services of all volunteers who offered themselves were accepted, if they passed inspection. The regulars were enlisted for three years. These were composed of the lowest class of the white population, gathered up from the levees of New Orleans, Mobile, and other seaports. Large placards, announcing large bounties—money in advance—were extensively circulated in the different cities throughout the whole Southern country. Recruiting offices were established in Mobile, Montgomery,

New Orleans, and other smaller towns in that section. Their uniform consisted of red flannel shirt, black hat, and blue pants. Their pay was only \$7 per month.

The numbers of men raised were very large for the population. This was the more practicable because so many blacks being employed in all domestic labor, the whites were left free to join the army, and the excitement was so great that almost all the able-bodied white population was drawn off to the army in the border states. The projected increase required a proportionately larger number of generals. Mr. Toombs resigned as secretary of state, and received the appointment of brigadier-general, retaining his seat in the Congress. This was permitted by the constitution, which allowed members to hold appointments from the Confederate government. In this the constitution differs from the old United States Constitution, which forbids members to hold offices of emolument. From the month of September, 1861, the favorable aspect of affairs in the Confederate states began to decline. Their currency rapidly depreciated, and it became increasingly difficult to supply their soldiers with the necessary equipments and rations. Extraordinary exertions were made, and, in many instances, as remarkable sacrifices, to furnish what was needed; but under the discomforts which were the lot of the private soldier, it was difficult to procure volunteers, and the Confederate leaders began to talk of drafting early in the autumn. The army in the field did not at any time before January, 1862, exceed 290,000 men.

The Confederate Senate confirmed General Beauregard full general, which is the highest grade in the Confederate service. The simple general ranks the brigadier-general. The commission of General Beauregard took date July 21st, 1861, the date of the Bull Run victory, for which he was promoted. He was appointed on the field by Jefferson Davis. The Southern constitution gives the appointment of officers to the President, with the consent of the

Senate. Colonel Lee, formerly of the United States army, and B. F. Cheatham, of Nashville, also Felix R. Zollicoffer, of Nashville, and formerly member of Congress, were appointed brigadier-generals in the Confederate army.

The finances of the Confederate Congress were by no means in a flourishing condition. The seceding states had, for many years past, exported by far the greater part of their agricultural products, their exports of cotton, rice, sugar and tobacco, amounting, annually, on an average of the five years ending June 30th, 1860, to about \$213,000,000, out of a total export from the United States of about \$400,000,000. The greater part of this amount was expended either in the Northern cities, for manufactured goods, of which very few are produced there, or in travel at the North or in Europe. The goods bought at the North were usually purchased on a year's credit, so that the proceeds of the produce exported had been anticipated. The blockade, by preventing the shipment of the cotton, rice, sugar, &c., rendered these products almost valueless, and speedily induced a financial panic. The banks of the seceded states held, on the 1st of January, 1861, \$25,821,993 in specie, and had an outstanding circulation of \$55,223,960. This amount of specie was considerably increased during the next five months by their drawing whatever balances stood to their credit from the New York banks, and by a passage of an act of the Confederate Congress, May 21st, 1861, prohibiting all debtors owing money to Northern creditors from paying them, and requiring the payment of the amount into the Confederate Treasury either in specie or treasury notes, for which they were to receive a certificate of the payment, bearing interest, and redeemable at the close of the war. The payment of the interest on the bonds of the several states was also ordered to be made only in the Confederate States, and the strictest scrutiny was instituted to prevent the payment of such interest to any person or the agent of any person who was not a citizen of the Southern Confederacy, or if

an alien, at least a well-wisher to that Confederacy. The banks of the seceding states held a convention at Atlanta, Georgia, on the 3d of June, 1861, at which they resolved to issue their notes to the Confederate government on the deposit of its eight per cent. twenty-year bonds, of which the issue of \$100,000,000 had been authorized, and recommended the taking of Confederate treasury notes by railroad companies, tax collectors, &c. The banks had been authorized to suspend specie payments, by the several states, in the winter previous, and the treasury notes, which were payable six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace with the United States, as well as the bank-notes, soon began to depreciate seriously. In August, gold and silver were at 15 per cent. premium, and before January 1st, 1862, two paper dollars would only buy one in specie, while the tendency of the currency was still downward. In some of the states the Confederate scrip stood very far below the bank-notes, and was regarded as almost valueless; but the stringent laws passed by the Confederate government, punishing the refusal to receive it with imprisonment, and if persisted in with death, led to its general reception, but occasioned an enormous inflation of the prices of every article of merchandise. Boots, shoes, clothing of all kinds, thread, needles, cotton and woollen goods, tea, coffee, sugar, molasses, salt, &c., were held at from ten to fifty times their ordinary value.

The government had formed several plans of finance; the first by taxation. The secretary of the treasury issued the following circular to the states' officers:

“CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
“RICHMOND, *June 26th*, 1861.

‘Hon. E. W. CAVE, *Treasurer of State of Texas, Austin, Texas*:

“SIR: I have as yet been unable to obtain from your state the information required by Congress, with a view to its legislation at the ensuing session. Permit me to solicit any information in your possession upon the following points as to your state:

“1. The assessed value of real estate, and whether assessed at the market value.

"2. The same information as to personal estate, and what general items constitute the personal estate.

"3. The amount of money at interest.

"4. The amount of banking and railroad, and other stock.

"5. The number of slaves, and the value per head.

"6. The amount and rate of the last tax in your state.

"7. The population.

"Very respectfully,

"C. G. MEMMINGER,

*"Secretary of the Treasury."*

The war tax was thus levied upon real estate, including all lands and estates therein, with ferries, bridges, and mines; slaves of all ages; merchandise of all kinds for sale, except agricultural products of the country; bank stock, except such as may be retained by the banks; railroad and other stock; money at interest, including bills, and all notes and securities bearing interest, except Confederate bonds; cash on hand or deposit, in bank or elsewhere; cattle, horses, mules, raised or held for sale; gold watches; gold and silver plate, pianos, and pleasure-carriages.

The plan of a produce loan was projected, and met with some success. The mode seemed complicated, but was, in fact, simply a loan of money to the government. It was called a produce loan, because the sales of produce form the only means of the planter. When he sent his produce to his factor for sale, he sent an order with it to pay over to the government, in exchange for its bonds, bearing eight per cent. interest in specie, a certain portion of it, such as he might deem expedient. The difficulty of selling the crop cramped both parties, the government as well as the planters, and produced great distress. The treasury notes of the government that had become the general currency were greatly depreciated, although receivable for the war taxes. They were also fundable in eight per cent. bonds.

There was also paper money issued, not only by the Confederate government, but by the states, cities, and individuals. The merchants and others, early foreseeing the

difficulties, sold their goods for coin, and hoarded it. Hence the whole metallic currency speedily disappeared. Its price, therefore, rose in the double ratio of the flood of paper money and the disappearance of gold. The currency was speedily ruined, and the most frightful evils followed in its train. The supplies of produce and food were good because the crops were fair, and a much greater breadth of land than usual was put into crops. The difficulties suffered by the South in this emergency were very similar to those encountered by the colonies in the revolutionary war, and also by the United States in 1812, arising from a deficiency of home manufactures. The great distress of the Northern states from 1809 to 1814 had been productive of great good, however, since it called into being manufactures, which took root and subsequently flourished, but which might not, perhaps, in many years have been undertaken, had the capital of the country continued peacefully employed in agriculture and in commerce. The South has hitherto employed all its capital in the production of tobacco, sugar, and raw materials. The blockade has compelled attention to other pursuits, and the border slave states will, doubtless, rapidly develop a manufacturing industry. The production of cotton can, however, be but momentarily checked, even if the dream which has now vainly occupied the English imagination for sixty years, in relation to raising cotton in India, should prove true, since the wants of the civilized world in that particular far outrun the capacity of the South to supply. The development of manufactures in the Southern states will serve to keep at home an immense capital, to reproduce itself through the labor of that portion of the white race which has hitherto not added much to the Southern wealth. For the moment, however, the war lies upon them with a heavy hand.

## CHAPTER X.

Congress assembled.—Representation.—Message.—Its Reception.—Constitutional Powers.—War Report.—Number of Troops.—Navy Report.—Number of Vessels and Guns.—Treasury Report.—Estimates for Year.—Loans demanded.—Bills in Congress.—National Guard.—The Action of Congress.—Prompt Votes.—Senators Expelled.—Adjournment of Congress.—Acts passed.—Confiscation.—War Policy.—Prompt Enlistments.—Financial Difficulties.—Operations of the Treasury.—Bank Loan.—Loan Negotiation.—The Different Loans authorized.—Stocks not Available.—Appeal to the People.—Popular Loan.—Demand Notes.—Tax Bill.—Difficulties of the Government.—Necessity of Stretching Power.—Habeas Corpus.—Attorney General's Opinion.—Judge Betts.—Judge Nelson.—The Press.—Action of the Mobs.—Action of the Government.—Grand Juries.—Newspapers Suppressed.—Passports.—Confiscation.

THE thirty-seventh Federal Congress assembled at Washington in extra session, July 4th, pursuant to the call of the President. There were present forty-three senators at the opening of the session; of these eight represented the border states: Delaware, Messrs. Bayard and Saulsbury; Kentucky, Messrs. Breckenridge and Powell; Maryland, Messrs. Kennedy and Pearce; Missouri, Mr. Polk; Tennessee, Mr. Johnson.

The senators from Kansas also appeared: Mr. Pomeroy, for the long term, and Lane, for the short term; from California, Mr. McDougall; and from Illinois, Mr. Browning, in place of Senator Douglas, deceased. In the course of the session appeared also Messrs. W. S. Willey and J. S. Carlile, from the loyal legislature of Virginia, and were admitted to seats as senators.

In the House of Representatives, there were present one hundred and fifty-nine members, including five who were elected from Western Virginia, and were admitted as members. The clerk of the House called the roll for all the states, including the Southern seceded states, but of



course from them none were present. Mr. G. A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, was elected speaker, and Hon. Emerson Etheridge, late member from Tennessee, was elected clerk. The message of the President was brief, and confined mostly to the public exigency, for the consideration of which Congress was assembled. The President recounted the position of affairs on his accession to the government, the functions of which had been suspended in six states, where a new government had been organized, and was seeking foreign recognition. The administration had to prevent a dissolution.\* The inaugural address had indicated the policy to be pursued. The proceedings relating to Fort Sumter were alluded to, and the desire of the government to maintain possession of it was expressed. The ejection of the United States troops left no recourse but to call out the war power of the government. He thought that he had done nothing which it was beyond the power of Congress to sanction; and he anticipated a full endorsement of his acts. He then asked for four hundred thousand men, and four hundred million dollars in money, to "make the war a short and decisive one." The message also argued against the right of a state to secede; and the President stated what was to be the course of the government toward the Southern states after the rebellion shall have been suppressed. "Probably he will have no different understanding of the powers and duties relating to the rights of the states and the people under the constitution than that expressed in the inaugural address."

The message met with approbation from the loyal citizens of the Union, who saw in it evidence of the determination of the President to take care, as his oath had bound him to do, "that the laws were faithfully executed," and that the republic suffered no detriment from any hesitation or half-measures on his part. The exigencies of his position were without a precedent in the history of the country, and while he had called Congress together for an extra session at as early a date as it could rightfully be convened,



*A. Lincoln*



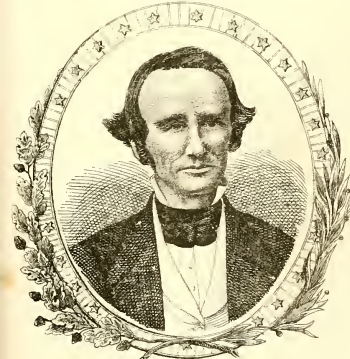
*William Howard*



HON. E. M. STANTON.



*F. M. Chase*



*M. Blair*



*Gideon Welles*



since in some of the states the election of members of Congress did not take place till June, he had in the mean time been compelled to take upon himself great responsibilities, which his message, as well as his known character for integrity, demonstrated that he had used wisely and well. The people felt that his acts, committed under such necessity, should be cordially sanctioned by Congress, wherever there was any doubt as to their validity, which only existed in regard to the enrolling of volunteers for the war, since the militia act of 1795 fully authorized his course in calling out the militia.

The secretary of war in his report recounted the seizures that had taken place on the part of the Confederates previous to the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, and stated the results of the proclamation calling for troops, giving the number authorized as follows :

Regulars and Volunteers for three months, and for the war.....	235,000
Fifty-five regiments of volunteers for the war, accepted.....	50,000
New regular regiments.....	25,000
	<hr/> 75,000
Total force called out by government, to July 4th..	310,000
Deduct three months men.....	80,000
	<hr/>
Authorized force .....	230,000

For the maintenance of this force, and supplying of the necessary ordnance, arms, and reserve stores, in addition to the ordinary appropriation, \$185,296,397 was required. The secretary mentioned the mode of appointing officers to the regiments, one-half from the regular army, and one-half from civil life. The civilians appointed to regimental commands were all either West Point graduates, or had before served with distinction in the field. Many of the second-lieutenants were created by the promotion of meritorious sergeants from the regular service. He alluded, also, to the large disaffection of army officers with whom state allegiance was paramount to federal duty.

The report of the secretary of the navy furnished a complete abstract of the condition of the navy. On the 4th of March, the total number of vessels of all classes was ninety, designed to carry 2,415 guns. Of these, the available force was sixty-nine vessels, and 1,346 guns; and of these forty-two, carrying five hundred and fifty-six guns, were in commission. Of the sixty-nine available vessels, the *Levant* was lost in the Pacific, the steamer *Fulton* was seized at Pensacola, and one frigate, two sloops, and a brig, were burned at Norfolk. The other vessels destroyed there were considered worthless. There remained sixty-three, of which fifty-nine were put in commission. In addition to which, nine steamers were chartered, twelve steamers and three sailing vessels were purchased, making an entire force of eighty-two vessels, and eleven hundred guns. On the Atlantic coast, the blockading squadron, twenty-two vessels, with two hundred and ninety guns and three thousand three hundred men, was under the command of flag-officer Stringham. The Gulf squadron, consisting of twenty-one vessels, with two hundred and eighty-two guns and three thousand five hundred men, was under flag-officer Mervine. The East India, Mediterranean, Brazil, and African squadrons were recalled, adding two hundred guns and two thousand five hundred men for home service. Since the accession of Mr. Lincoln, two hundred and fifty-nine naval officers had resigned. The department had contracted for the building of twenty-three steam gunboats of five hundred tons each, and arrangements were made for larger and fleetier vessels. The eight vessels ordered by the last Congress were being rapidly pushed to completion.

The secretary of the treasury came forward in his report with a statement of the financial wants of the government. He stated that the estimates of the year required \$319,000,000; that \$80,000,000 of this, or the amount required for the ordinary expenses, should be raised by taxation, and that \$240,000,000 must be borrowed. He

proposed an increase of the duties, which he estimated would raise the customs to \$57,000,000, and he estimated that the lands would give \$3,000,000. He also advised a tax on real and personal estate, to give the remaining \$20,000,000 to make up \$80,000,000. He also proposed a reduction of forty per cent. on all salaries. To raise the \$240,000,000 which must be borrowed, he proposed a national loan of \$100,000,000, in small bonds, bearing 7.30 per cent. interest per annum, and redeemable after three years; a loan of \$100,000,000 at seven per cent. in stock, payable after thirty years, in London; and the issue of \$50,000,000 in \$10 and \$20 notes, bearing 3.65 per cent. interest, payable in one year, or without interest payable in coin on demand.

Through these reports the state of affairs was laid before Congress. The leading measures of the session were promptly brought forward. In the Senate, the chairman of the military committee introduced six bills. The first of these was designed to ratify what the President had done on his own responsibility. The second, "to authorize the employment of volunteers to aid in enforcing the laws." The third, to "increase the present military establishment of the United States." The fourth, "for the better organization of the military establishment of the United States." The fifth, "for the organization of a volunteer militia force, to be called the National Guard of the United States." The sixth, a bill to promote the efficiency of the army.

These bills were discussed at considerable length, in both houses. The opposition to them in the Senate came principally from Messrs. Breckinridge of Kentucky and Polk of Missouri, both of whom, in the autumn of 1861, went over to the rebels and accepted military commands under them; and in the House from Mr. Burnett of Kentucky, who also seceded to the rebels a short time after the close of the session, and his friend, Mr. Vallandigham of Ohio.



The approval of the action of the President, which it was first proposed to make in the form of a resolution, was finally passed as a clause of one of the military bills, and Congress showed its hearty concurrence in his views in regard to the prosecution of the war by voting 500,000 men and \$500,000,000, instead of 400,000 men and \$400,000,000 as he had asked. The vote in the Senate for the appropriation was yeas thirty-four, nays four. In the House the majority was equally decided. The other bills were passed substantially as reported. A tax bill, raising \$20,000,000 by taxes on landed and other property, and assessing all incomes above eight hundred dollars at three per cent., was also passed. Among the other acts of the session were a bill modifying the tariff, to make it correspond with the tax bill, which passed by a large majority, and a bill confiscating the property of persons engaged in active rebellion against the United States.

On the 22d of July Mr. Crittenden of Kentucky, in the House, and on the 26th Mr. Johnson of Tennessee, in the Senate, moved the following resolution :

*“Resolved,* That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern states, now in revolt against the constitutional government, and in arms around the capital ; that in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country ; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those states, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several states unimpaired ; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease.”

This resolution passed the Senate by yeas thirty, nays five, and the House by yeas one hundred and seventeen, nays two. This declaration of the objects for which the war was prosecuted, thus sought by loyal citizens of the border states, was cheerfully accorded by Congress, the great body of the members of which still clung to the idea that within a few months the people of the seceded states



would gladly return to their allegiance. The duration of the war beyond the close of the year was not deemed possible.

The Senate, on the 11th of July, expelled from that body the senators James M. Mason and R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia; Thomas L. Clingman and Thomas Bragg, of North Carolina; Louis T. Wigfall and J. W. Hemphill, of Texas; Charles B. Mitchell and William K. Sebastian, of Arkansas; and A. O. P. Nicholson, of Tennessee. Those senators were none of them present, but had withdrawn on the secession of their respective states.

The propriety of this course was so obvious that there was but very slight opposition to it. Mr. Bayard of Delaware and Mr. Latham of California urged the substitution of a resolution declaring their seats vacant, instead of expelling them, on the ground that they ought not personally to suffer for what was the result of the action of their states. But the fact of their full sympathy with and co-operation in the work of secession was so patent, that this view met with little support from the other senators. Messrs. Breckinridge and Polk voted against the resolution, and were themselves subsequently expelled, having openly joined the rebels. The vote stood ayes thirty-two, noes ten. On the 13th of July, Mr. Johnson of Tennessee presented the credentials of Messrs. W. T. Wiley and J. S. Carlile, elected senators of Virginia by the loyal legislature of that state, then in session at Wheeling. Their admission was objected to by Messrs. Bayard of Delaware and Powell of Kentucky, but was defended by Mr. Johnson of Tennessee and others, and they were admitted by a vote of thirty-five yeas to five nays.

Congress adjourned on the 6th of August, having been in session thirty-three days. In that period they passed sixty-one public acts, of which the most important were:

1st. To borrow \$250,000,000; to levy a direct tax of \$20,000,000; a tax upon incomes over \$800; to increase the duties.

2d. To provide for collecting duties in disaffected states, and authorizing an embargo.

3d. To authorize 500,000 volunteers.

4th. To increase the pay of volunteers to \$13 per month for privates; in lieu of clothing, \$3 50 per month; rations, \$9 per month. A bounty of \$30 to soldiers who re-enlist for the war. If a company re-enlist, \$50 each; if a whole regiment, \$75.

5th. To increase the regular army for the entire war; and within a year after the restoration of peace the number of men to be reduced to 25,000, unless otherwise ordered by Congress.

6th. An act to authorize the President to call out the militia to execute the laws, when necessary.

7th. Appropriating \$180,000,000 for the army, for the year 1862; appropriating \$30,000,000 for the service of the navy; appropriating \$3,000,000 to hire and purchase vessels.

8th. An act defining and punishing conspiracies. If two or more persons in any state or territory combine to overthrow the government, or obstruct the execution of its laws, they shall be punished with fine and imprisonment.

There was also passed at this session of Congress an act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes, which provided that, in the present or any future insurrection, any property given to aid such insurrection, or used for that purpose with the knowledge and consent of the owner, should be subject to seizure and confiscation; that actions for the condemnation of such property might be brought in circuit, district or admiralty courts having jurisdiction of the amount, and that the attorney-general or any district attorney might institute proceedings, which in such case should be wholly for the benefit of the United States; or any person might file an information with such attorney, in which case he should receive an equal share of the proceeds with the United States. In regard

to slaves held by persons engaged in aiding the rebellion, the provisions of the bill were as follows: "That whenever hereafter, during the present insurrection against the government of the United States, any person claimed to be held to labor or service, under the laws of any state, shall be required or permitted by the person to whom such labor or service is claimed to be due, or by the lawful agent of such person, to take up arms against the United States, or shall be required or permitted by the person to whom such service or labor is due, or by his lawful agent, to work or to be employed in or upon any fort, navyyard, dock, armory, ship, or intrenchment, or in any military or naval service whatever, against the government and lawful authority of the United States, then, and in every such case, the person to whom such service is claimed to be due shall forfeit his claim to such labor, any law of the state or of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding; and whenever thereafter the person claiming such labor or service shall seek to enforce his claim, it shall be a full and sufficient answer to such claim, that the person whose service or labor is claimed had been employed in hostile service against the government of the United States, contrary to the provisions of this act." This bill passed both branches of Congress. In the House the vote was—ayes, 60; noes, 48.

The bill, it will be seen, limited within narrow bounds the confiscation of rebel property; it would have been more comprehensive (though probably not so sweeping as the confiscation law of 1862, for neither Congress nor the people were then ripe for that measure), but for the scruples which were entertained by some of the members in regard to the constitutionality of the confiscation of property for treason, without a previous trial and conviction of the traitor. These scruples, which, though honestly entertained, arose from the error of confounding the action against persons with the action against property, as was very clearly shown some months later by Hon. Henry

Winter Davis of Maryland, in a very elaborate published opinion on the subject.

The action of Congress in making provision for a vigorous prosecution of the war, had greatly encouraged the people, and the enlistments were made with great rapidity, and of a very superior class of soldiers. There was, however, a pressing necessity for a large amount of financial resources to meet the heavy drain which the war was making on the government treasury. Fortunately for the nation, an accomplished and skilful financier was at the head of the treasury, a man capable of comprehending and providing for the emergency.

In December, 1860, when very few supposed war probable, Hon. Howell Cobb, Mr. Buchanan's secretary of the treasury, had offered \$5,000,000 of United States treasury notes, payable one year from date, and had only received bids for \$500,000 at twelve per cent. interest, and this when New York seven per cent. stocks were selling at 101. Secretary Chase needed to borrow by hundreds of millions, and that in the beginning of a great war of uncertain duration; but the capitalists had confidence in him and in the government for which he acted, and though he had been bound very closely by Congress in regard to the terms on which the loans were to be made, and the taxation voted did not promise to yield enough to pay the interest on the loans, he succeeded in negotiating for all the money he needed at an interest not exceeding an average of seven per cent.

The loans at this time authorized by Congress were—

	Payable	Interest per cent.	Limit.
1. Bonds, Coupons, or Registered*..	After 20 years, sold not less than par .....	7	
2. Bonds, Coupons, or Registered...	After 20 years, sold in Europe do..	7	\$100,000,000
3. Bonds, Coupons, or Registered...	After 20 years, equal to 7 per cent.	6	
4. Bonds, Coupons, or Registered...	Within 1 year.....	6	20,000,000
5. Treasury Notes .....	At 8 years.....	7.30	
6. Treasury Notes .....	At 1 year.....	8.65	
7. Treasury Notes .....	In coin on demand, not less than \$5.....	None.	50,000,000

\* The difference between a registered stock and a coupon bond is, that

No effort was made to negotiate a loan abroad, as the English capitalists were passively hostile to the war, and not inclined to invest in American securities. At a later date they purchased the bonds and treasury notes eagerly, and at a premium. Until he could make arrangements for the issue of his treasury notes at seven and three-tenths per cent., the secretary obtained a loan for sixty days, on his twenty-year bonds as collateral, of \$5,000,000. This sum was taken up in a single half-day in New York. Having visited Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, he succeeded in effecting an arrangement with the banks of the three cities, by which they took \$50,000,000 of the 7.30 notes at par, New York taking \$35,000,000, Boston \$10,000,000, and Philadelphia \$5,000,000, the payments to be made about ten per cent. weekly, while interest was payable from the date of issue. The secretary meantime was to open agencies throughout the country for subscriptions to the loan, and the money so received was to be paid over to the banks, for whose account these sales were made. The banks were to have the option of taking on similar terms two subsequent issues of the treasury notes, each of \$50,000,000. The amount of subscriptions on the first issue, bearing date August the 19th, 1861, was \$38,000,000, leaving but \$12,000,000 on the hands of the banks when they had paid in full for the first issue. They then took the second \$50,000,000, which bore date October 1st, 1861; but the circulation of demand notes, and the great number of state loans in the market, causing for the time a falling off in the subscriptions for investment, they declined taking the third issue, and took in preference the twenty-year six per cent. stock at 89.322, which

the former is inscribed upon the books of the government, in the name of the owner, and is transferred on the books by the owner to the party to whom he sells. The interest is paid to him in whose name the stock stands. The bond is not inscribed, but is transferred by delivery, like a bank-note. It has attached to it small bonds, one for each six months' interest until the maturity of the bond itself. The holder cuts off the one due, and presents it for payment. These are called "coupons," from the French *couper*, to cut.

was equivalent to a seven per cent. stock at par. The whole subscription outside of banks and moneyed institutions for the 7.30 treasury notes up to January 1st, 1862, somewhat exceeded \$50,000,000. About \$24,000,000 of demand notes had been issued up to that time, and \$50,000,000 of twenty-year stock, from which there was realized \$45,795,478.48. There had also been issued two-year notes (six per cents.) to the amount of \$14,019,034.66, and borrowed on sixty-day six per cent. notes \$12,877,750, making an aggregate of \$197,242,588.14. Of the subsequent financial measures of the government, the new loans, and the tax and tariff bills prescribed at the second (first regular) session of the thirty-seventh Congress, and the steady rise in the value of government securities, notwithstanding the large amounts issued, we shall have more to say farther on. The tax of \$20,000,000 on real and personal estate was apportioned to the several states; that portion due from the seceded states was only collectable by means of a law subsequently passed, authorizing the seizure of real estate to liquidate those taxes. That due from loyal states was assumed by them, they accounting for it, less fifteen per cent. discount for cost of collection; and as nearly all of them had advanced sums for the equipment of their troops, which the government had agreed to refund, the tax was generally set off against these sums, and thus, while the money did not come into the United States treasury, the government debts were liquidated by it.

The energy, determination, and resources of the people of the North, which for a little time had seemed paralyzed at the idea of such a war, were now developed in all their grandeur, and showed that so soon as they realized the magnitude of the struggle they were ready for it. The shock of war had disturbed the usual flow of capital, and deprived the North of more than \$200,000,000 due to it from the Southern merchants. Had this large sum been recovered, it would have been subscribed to the Federal loan; on the other hand, the Confederacy took

prompt measures to turn it into its own coffers. An act was passed May 21st, which forbade any debts to be paid to the North, and providing that money due Northern citizens might be paid into the Confederate treasury, and bonds bearing eight per cent. interest be issued therefor. This compelled Northern creditors to subscribe to the Southern loans. A bill was also passed sequestrating the property of alien enemies, and "alien enemies" were defined to be all those who did not take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy. All such were also to be banished from the country, and all "Yankees," who might venture South to look after their former rights of property, were to be arrested. In some states, as in South Carolina, it was forbidden to any citizen to visit a Northern state and return, without the consent of the committee appointed. Under these laws great numbers were compelled to fly, and leave their property a prey to the Confederate government, or remain and take the oath. Very many chose the former, and amidst the greatest distress sought the Northern lines. They were completely shut out of their rights by a law, which forbade any court of the Confederate States to take cognizance of suits brought by citizens of the United States. A law was passed to the effect that all persons holding any office under the Federal government should be deemed aliens and enemies. In Virginia an act was passed, which declared :

"Any citizen who may hereafter undertake to represent the state in the Congress of the United States, in addition to the penalties before stated, shall be deemed guilty of treason, and his property be confiscated to the use of the state."

These stringent laws in effect punished by banishment and confiscation of property all who did not give in their adhesion to the new government. Those who remained, as well as the Southern citizens, were not exempt from severe assessments in support of the armies in the field. The contributions levied were very onerous in most dis-



tricts, and the mode of their assessment is indicated in the following notice of General Beauregard's course :

"All classes of citizens of Virginia are called upon to contribute their quota of forage for Beauregard's army, and with those who are forgetful of their obligations, the general says that 'constraint must be employed.'"

The ranks of the army were filled by means quite as peremptory, and the proceedings were conducted as quietly as possible, but the following official notice of the mayor of Memphis suffices to indicate the process which was common at all points :

"TO THE CITIZENS OF MEMPHIS: Applications have repeatedly been made to me, as executive officer of the city, for protection against *indiscreet* parties, who are sent out to impress citizens into service against their will on steamboats. Many of these men have been dragged from their beds, wives, and children, *but never has there been a man taken who had on a clean shirt.* I hereby notify any citizen who may wish a pass within the city of Memphis to call on me, and I will furnish the same, and will see he will be *protected.* One poor man being shot yesterday by one of these *outlaws*, as they may be called, causes me to give the above notice.

"JOHN PARK, Mayor.

"August 16th."

The following notice issued in Virginia, is also significant :

"All the militia belonging to the eighty-ninth regiment volunteer militia are ordered to meet at Oakland, on Monday next, as early as they can, in order to march to headquarters, Winchester, forthwith; and I would make a friendly request of those men that failed to go before, for them to turn out now, like true-hearted Virginians, and what they have done will be looked over, but if they do not regard this call, they will work their own ruin. They can never be citizens of Virginia, and their property will be confiscated. The general will send a troop of horse to Morgan as soon as we leave, and all those men that fail to do their duty will be hunted up, and what the consequence will be I am unable to say.

"SAMUEL JOHNSTON,

"Col. 89th regiment V. M.

"July 24th, 1861."

As an indication of the temper of the times, the following from a Southern paper, expresses a degree of ferocity somewhat startling :

"We unhesitatingly say that the cause of justice, and the cause of humanity itself, demands that the black flag shall be unfurled on every field—that extermination and death shall be proclaimed against the

hellish miscreants who persist in polluting our soil with their crimes. We will stop the effusion of blood, we will arrest the horrors of war, by terrific slaughter of the foe, by examples of overwhelming and unsparing vengeance. When Oliver Cromwell massacred the garrison of Drogheda, suffering not a man to escape, he justified it on the ground that his object was to bring the war to a close—to stop the effusion of blood—and that it was, therefore, a merciful act on his part. The South can afford no longer to trifle—she must strike the most fearful blows—the war-cry of extermination must be raised.”

That this was not mere idle newspaper bluster numerous occurrences in different parts of the country fully demonstrate. An instance may suffice. The Nashville (Tenn.) *Courier* says :

“We learn that a squad of twelve men were sent to Franklin yesterday, to arrest some Lincolmites. They had collected to the number of twelve or fifteen at the house of one of their number, one Bell; and defying the party, fired at them, killing one man, said to be Lee, of Louisville, and wounding one or two more. Our men then charged the house, and set fire to it, burning it and all of the men in it, it is believed, but two, who escaped.”

John Beman, a watchman on the steamer Morrison, who had a family in Boston, was arrested by a committee, for opinions expressed against the Confederacy. The committee proposed to forgive him if he would take an oath to support the Southern States. He indignantly repelled the proposition, and said he would die first, when they immediately hung him. A German of the name of Frenzel was arrested at New Orleans, charged with seditious language, and imprisoned. S. P. Sewell, school-teacher at Memphis, Tenn., was arrested by the committee of safety as a person inimical to the South.

Such proceedings, vigorously pressed, stifled all open expression of opinions opposed to the South, and, as a matter of course, no newspapers were tolerated that did not support the Confederate government. Attempts were made to overawe or purchase the Louisville (Kentucky) *Journal*, but without success. The Knoxville (Tennessee) *Whig* was edited by W. G. Brownlow, who steadily advocated the Union cause. He was forced to suspend its publication, and, in his farewell address to his readers, says, that

he would neither give a bond to keep the peace, nor take an oath to support the Jeff. Davis Confederacy. He was indicted by the grand jury for treason, because, as he said, he refused to publish garbled accounts of skirmishes in Kentucky, and other articles, the insertion of which in his sheet was insisted upon by the rebels. This gentleman, known as Parson Brownlow, after a long imprisonment, was allowed to quit the state, and visited the Northern states, where he addressed large audiences, giving an account of the cruelties inflicted on Union men, and published a narrative of his own sufferings.

Not only were Northern citizens deprived of their property and of all legal redress, but they were banished from the states, and forbidden to return even to look after their rights, under penalty of arrest. Measures were taken also to prevent any further immigration hereafter from the North, in order to prevent the growth of anti-secession sentiments, and no diversity of opinion was tolerated among the Southern people, but their personal liberty and property were all at the disposal of the government to carry on the war for disunion.

The advent of civil war, under the extraordinary circumstances that marked the accession of Mr. Lincoln to power, involved the executive in proceedings which called up lively discussions in relation to his power, under the constitution. No government ever before occupied so singular and trying a position as was forced upon that which came into power March 4th, 1861. The process of breaking up the Union had been going on for many years, and had culminated under the administration of Mr. Buchanan. His cabinet contained at least three members who were but waiting the signal to leave the government of the Union to join the ranks of the Southern Confederacy. Mr. Thompson, secretary of the interior, was known to have acted as a secession envoy to North Carolina, even while he held a seat as a member of the Federal cabinet. Mr. Cobb, secretary of the treasury, resigned to assume

his seat as a member of the Southern convention; and Mr. Floyd, secretary of war, followed in the same direction, after having plundered the Northern armories and arsenals to furnish arms to the South for the anticipated strife. Under the gradual development of the plan of secession, the whole Federal patronage had been designedly so bestowed as to fill the important subordinate offices with men who favored the Southern movement, and who had nothing to expect from the incoming administration. A large proportion, full one-half of all the officers of the army and navy, were waiting to resign at the signal of secession, and range themselves in opposition to the government. The patronage of the government under such an administration, it was evident, had been used in furthering the views of the leading and active members. The diplomatic corps abroad and the incumbents of office at the North were most of them inclined to thwart the action of the new administration, and in their train was a large number of active men on whom the government could not depend, if it had no open opposition to encounter. The new administration found itself thus completely in the power of the secession party, and all its secrets, from the cabinet debates to the details of orders, were known to the South. The bureaus of the departments, the judiciary, the army and navy, and the offices were all filled with persons who were eagerly watching to catch up and transmit every item of information that might aid the Confederates, or thwart the government. Under such circumstances the executive was driven to proceedings very different from those which were recognized in time of peace. The prompt and vigorous arrest of all suspected persons was, under these circumstances, necessary for present safety, and as a means of intimidating those disposed to oppose the government. In some of these proceedings it was frankly admitted that he had overstepped his authority; but it was believed that the exigencies of the case, and the support of public opinion at the North, fully justified such possible infractions of the

organic law of the country, as being necessary to the public safety.

During the year a number of citizens were arrested and imprisoned, by order of the Federal government, for alleged treasonable conduct, without the usual process of law, and whenever the bodies of these prisoners were demanded under a writ of *habeas corpus*, their delivery was refused. The writ was suspended by the President, and the question was raised, whether, under the Constitution, the power to suspend it pertained to the President or to Congress. In the case of John Merryman, a citizen of Maryland, arrested on the 25th of May, the application for a writ of *habeas corpus* was made to Roger B. Taney, chief-justice of the United States, who issued it. General Cadwallader refused to obey, alleging that the President had authorized him in such cases to suspend the writ. The chief-justice then ordered an attachment to issue against General Cadwallader, but the officer who went to Fort McHenry to serve it was not admitted. The chief-justice then prepared and sent to the President an opinion, in which he took ground adverse to his power to suspend the writ. The President referred the question to the attorney-general, Hon.\* Edward Bates, as the constitutional adviser and law officer of the government. Mr. Bates, on the 5th of July, rendered an elaborate opinion on the questions at issue, which were, whether the President had the right to arrest persons on suspicion of intercourse with the insurgents, and if he was justified in refusing to obey a writ of *habeas corpus*, sued out to ascertain whether the alleged suspicions were just. The answer was in the affirmative. The opinion of the attorney-general was:

“Unity of power is the great principle recognized in Europe; but a plan of ‘checks and balances,’ forming separate departments of government, and giving to each department separate and limited powers, has been adopted here. These departments are co-ordinate and coequal; that is, neither being sovereign, each is independent in its sphere, and not subordinate to the others, either of them or both of them together. If one of the three is allowed to determine the

extent of its own powers, and that of the other two, that one can, in fact, control the whole government, and has become sovereign. The same identical question may come up legitimately before each one of the three departments, and be determined in three different ways, and each decision stand irrevocable, binding upon the parties to each case, for the simple reason that the departments are co-ordinate, and there is no ordained legal superior with power to revise and reverse their decision. To say that the departments of our government are co-ordinate, is to say that the judgment of one of them is not binding upon the other two, as to the arguments and principles involved in the judgment. This independence of the departments being proved, and the executive being the active one, bound by oath to perform certain duties, he must be therefore of necessity the sole judge both of the exigency which requires him to act, and of the manner in which it is most prudent for him to employ the powers intrusted to him, to enable him to discharge his constitutional and legal duty."

Honorable Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, whose reputation as a constitutional lawyer is second to that of no man in the United States, also published an opinion on the subject, in which he reviewed the opinion of Chief-Justice Taney, and demonstrated most conclusively its error. The power of the suspension of the writ he showed to have been intended, by the very terms in which it was authorized in the constitution, to inhere in the executive and the executive only, and that the chief-justice had himself so decided in the case of Luther and Borden, in 7 Howard, 1. He also showed that Alexander Hamilton, one of the framers of the constitution, had, in his essays on that document, expressly assigned the power to the President, to which Mr. Madison, another of the framers, in his review of those essays, had tacitly assented; and that President Jackson had exercised it without objection.

The persons thus arrested and imprisoned by the executive being for the most part those who had sought to overthrow the government, little public sympathy was manifested in their behalf; and even if mistakes were made in individual cases, it was considered that these were inevitable under such complicated circumstances.

The judges of the United States courts expressed their opinions very decidedly in regard to these aiders and abettors of treason. Judge Betts, of the United States District



Court at New York, in a charge to the grand jury, thus defined treasonable acts, and pointed out what constituted misprision of treason :

"Giving aid or comfort to the enemies of the country consists in furnishing them military supplies, food, clothing, harbor or concealment, or communicating information to them, helping their hostilities against the country and its government.

"It is most probable that complaints will be laid before you under this branch and definition of the crime. Within it will be included acts of building, manning, or in any way fitting out or victualling vessels to aid the hostilities of our enemies ; sending provisions, arms, or other supplies to them ; raising funds, or obtaining credit for their service ; indeed, every traitorous purpose manifested by acts, committed in this district by persons owing allegiance to the country, will be acts of treason. It is not necessary that the accused should have raised or created war by his own acts ; he levies war by acting with those who have set it on foot, or by seizing or holding ports, or like acts of hostile aggression. The kindred crime of misprision of treason is this : If any person owing allegiance to the government, has knowledge of acts of treason, committed by others within the jurisdiction of the court, and does not make it known to the President of the United States, or one of the judges of the United States, or the governor of the state, or a judge or magistrate thereof, he becomes guilty of misprision of treason, and subject to seven years' imprisonment, and a fine of one thousand dollars for the offence ; and it is the duty of the grand jury to present for trial therefor such offender, whatever may be his individual connection or relationship with the offender."

In the Circuit Court of the United States for New York, Judge Nelson, at a later day, thus defined the overt act of treason :

"There is more difficulty in determining what constitutes the overt act under the second clause of the constitution—namely, adhering to the enemy, giving him aid and comfort. Questions arising under this clause must depend very much upon the facts and circumstances of each particular case. There are some acts of the citizen in his relations with the enemy which leave no room for doubt—such as giving intelligence with intent to aid him in his act of hostility ; sending him provisions or money ; furnishing arms, or troops, or munitions of war ; surrendering a military post, &c., all with a like intent. These and kindred facts are overt acts of treason, by adhering to the enemy. Words, oral, written, or printed, however treasonable, seditious, or criminal of themselves, do not constitute an overt act of treason within the definition of the crime. When spoken, written or printed in relation to an act or acts which, if committed with a treasonable design, might constitute such overt act, they are admissible as evidence, tending to characterize it, and show the intent with which the



act was committed. They may also furnish some evidence of the act itself against the accused. This is the extent to which such publications may be used, either in finding a bill of indictment or on the trial of it."

The sympathy of the masses of the people with the government, and their hostility to those who advocated treason or sought to justify the acts of the conspirators against the Union, were manifested in the very commencement of the rebellion. In New York city the offices of the *Herald*, *Journal of Commerce*, *Daily News*, *Day Book*, and *Express*, were visited, on the 16th and 17th of April, 1861, by excited crowds, and compelled to raise the American flag. Some of these papers required only this hint to lead them to change their course; others, and among them the *Journal of Commerce*, the *News*, the *Day Book*, and the *Freeman's Journal*, continued to attack the government, and were at length seized and forbidden to be circulated in the mails or by express. The *Journal of Commerce* changed editors, and was then allowed to circulate through the mails. The *News* and *Day Book* were stopped, and the *Freeman's Journal* appeared under a new name and with moderated tone. In several instances grand juries presented papers of this description, and this generally proved sufficient to lead them to change their course. In six instances, the offices were assailed and destroyed by mobs, viz.: the *Democratic Standard* of Concord, N. H.; the *Democrat* of Bangor, Me.; the *Essex County Democrat*, at Haverhill, Mass.; the *Bridgeport Farmer*, at Bridgeport, Conn.; the *Jeffersonian*, at West Chester, Penn.; and the *Sentinel*, at Easton, Penn.; and in one instance only, that of the *Essex County Democrat*, the editor was taken from his house and subjected to personal indignities. The rioters in this case were arrested and punished. This exercise of mob authority was opposed by good citizens, and was speedily repressed. At the same time the feeling was very general that the authority of government should be exercised to control, and if needful suppress those public

prints, and the number was very few, which thus openly aided the rebellion. In a few instances of the most aggravated character, not exceeding ten, the government did interfere for the suppression of such papers; and, singularly enough, in four instances these were professedly religious periodicals. The papers thus suppressed were the *Christian Observer* of Philadelphia, which was principally owned in Richmond, Va.; the *Christian Advocate* of St. Louis; the *True Presbyterian* and the *Western Recorder* of Louisville, which were suffered to go on again after a short period on promise of better behavior, a promise which was subsequently violated; the *War Bulletin*, *Missourian* and *Evening News*, of St. Louis; the *True American*, of Trenton, N. J.; the *Franklin Gazette*, of Franklin, N. Y.; and possibly one or two other papers of small circulation.

The repeated and determined efforts of the Confederate government to send agents and ministers to the European courts to advocate their cause, a measure difficult of execution in consequence of the blockade, as well as the frequent arrival of those who had been engaged in political or financial negotiations there for the benefit of the Southern Confederacy, led the government to keep a watchful eye on the arrivals and departures of passengers from the principal ports, and finally to organize a passport system for those who desired to visit Europe, as well as for those returning thence to this country. This at first occasioned some uneasiness, as it had always been our boast that there were no restrictions upon the freedom of transit to or from the United States; but the good effect of the measure was apparent in the arrest by its means of persons who would otherwise have been of great service to the Southern Confederacy.

The confiscation act of Congress having authorized the seizure of the property of those who were in rebellion against the government, when that property was found within the loyal states, money and other personal prop-

erty, and vessels, belonging to persons identified with the rebellion, were seized to a considerable amount. Ultimately, it having appeared to the government that in many cases the information on which seizures were based was the result of personal hostility or greed, and that in some cases the seizures had done injustice to parties really loyal, they were discontinued. In no case were money, bonds, or promissory notes retained by government where it was not evident that they were intended to be used directly for the rebellion; a course of conduct in marked contrast with that of the Confederate leaders, which we have already exhibited.

## CHAPTER XI.

Modern Art of War.—Early Struggles.—Military Art in Disuse.—Isolation of the United States.—Great Wars of Europe.—New Principles.—Wars in Italy.—“Strategy.”—“Tactics.”—“Long Chances.”—Marengo.—Maxims.—Votigeurs.—Ratisbon.—Jomini.—United States.—Necessity of a Foreign Policy.—The Number in the Army.—Formation of Soldiers.—Education of Officers.—Necessity of Experience.—Scientific Aspect of the Present War.—Enemy in the Centre.—His Policy.—The Northern Position.—The Cause of Disasters.—Military Effects.—The Lesson taught.—Losses Entailed.—The Advantages of Adversity.—Patience Necessary.—Condition of the Army.—McClellan’s Order.—Restoration of Discipline.—General Lane.—New Troops.—Drill.—Headquarters.—Army Organization.—Pay of Volunteers.—Enlistments.—Power of the President.—Position of Troops.—Nature of Ground.—System of Defence.—Humiliation.—Inactivity of the Enemy.—Loss of Prestige.—Beauregard.—Means of Transport.—Position of the Enemy.—His Projects.—Observance of the Sabbath.—Skirmish at Lewinsville.—Hatteras occupied.—General Fremont in Missouri.—General Pope.—Cairo.—General Lyon.—Confederate Troops.—Advance of the Enemy.—Battle of Dug Springs.—General Lyon’s Force retires.—Position of Lyon.—Frequent Demands for Aid.—None sent.—Battle of Wilson’s Creek.—Death of Lyon.—Retreat of the Army under Sigel.—Springfield occupied by the Confederates.—Proclamation of McCulloch.—General Pope’s Proclamation.—Effects of the Defeat.—Military Position.—Sigel’s Force at Rolla.—Martial Law.—St. Louis.—Price’s Proclamation.—Garnett’s Proclamation.—Position of Forces.—Guerillas.—Battle of Charleston.—Colonel Blair’s Charges.—Fremont’s Proclamation.—Manumission.—President Lincoln modifies it.—Forces of Fremont.—Lexington.—Colonel Mulligan.—Advance of Price.—Attack.—Surrender.—Enemy’s Report.—Fremont’s Dispatch.—Arrest of *Evening News*.—General Pope.—Martin Green.—Advance of General Fremont.—Troops concentrate.—Retreat of Price.—Major Zagonyi.—Springfield Occupied.—General Wyman.—Jeff. Thompson.—Proclamation.—Big River Bridge.—Fredericktown.

THE modern art of war, as perfected by the great captain of the present century, may be said never to have been practised upon this continent. The old colonies developed their independence after a protracted struggle,

under the defensive military genius of the father of his country, operating with rare judgment on the old maxims of the art. The determined valor, endurance, and devotion of the men, went far toward success, and in the course of the struggle, much native practical military capacity was evolved. Happily for the country, with the close of the struggle, peace brought with it other pursuits, and the military art fell, if not into disrepute, at least into disuse. The United States were too distant from the powers of Europe to be made the object of those cabals, intrigues, and coalitions, which had there prolonged the struggle against republican France through twenty years of bloodshed, and which were fatal to Poland, and to the independent action of most small powers. So completely isolated were the United States, that, following the farewell advice of Washington, the American Union had no "foreign policy." If the academy at West Point educated a certain number of young men in the theory of war, there was never any field of action for the fruits of those studies to develop themselves. In Europe, on the other hand, during the quarter of a century which followed American independence, war on a grand scale was conducted under the greatest military genius of any age. The world was, in that period, educated in the military art under the illustrations of his genius. That he was a graduate of a military academy may, in some degree, have aided his progress. But he was certainly not indebted to the teachings of professors for his wonderful success. On the contrary, they had failed to discover any thing remarkable in the student. The general principles then taught may be said to have been by him reversed. Thus the broad rule that an army occupying a central position between two others, would necessarily be defeated, because exposed to simultaneous attacks on each flank, he demonstrated was only relatively true, but that in fact such a central army occupied the strongest position, if properly handled; concentrating a strong force at the decisive point, it met and

assailed one, in time to return and overwhelm the other. Following the same principle, France, holding a central position in regard to Europe, instead of being weak in consequence, was strong, so long as her internal connections were open and her force concentrated. A revolution was also produced in the old notion in relation to fortified places. Their value fell immensely before the active movements of the French. It was ascertained that they were of themselves not formidable, unless they were the key or gateway to some district. A mere fort that commanded no necessary route was found to be of little value, and the powerful combination of columns was much more effective than spade-work, in the hands of an able commander. These ideas were a novelty, and he conquered Europe in illustrating them. When the Austrian power held Italy, and he, with forty thousand ill-clad, ill-armed, and ill-provided, but veteran troops, turned the Alps and made his attack at Montenotte, the chances were very far from being in his favor; but genius in conception, power of combination, rapidity of movement, and unparalleled vigor in execution, soon did their work upon the legions of Austria, and the veteran marshals, retiring before the blows of the "sans culotte," exclaimed in disgust, "Who ever saw such tactics!"

Up to that time the difference between "strategy" and "tactics" was ill defined. The latter had been as old as the art of war itself. The former was the consequence of dealing in war on a large scale. The master mind on the broad field of Europe, with numerous armies to move, deduced broader principles from more numerous and extended facts. "Tactics" pertains to handling an army in the field; "strategy" projects the campaign and directs the movement of the armies. "Tactics" fights the battle; "strategy" teaches when and where to fight it, and under what conditions. It remained for the master mind of Napoleon to apply the doctrine of "long chances" to war; that is, so to arrange and plan his campaign that if of ten battles

he should lose seven, yet the results of the three gained would be such as to give him the campaign. The campaign ending at Marengo is an instance in point. While the grand army was preparing to cross the Alps, Masséna held Genoa with an obstinate valor that immortalized his name, in the view to retain the Austrians in that corner of Italy, until the grand army should have passed the Alps in their rear. This was accomplished, and the French troops were so disposed along the only route between the Alps and the Apennines by which Melas could retreat, that he would require to win six battles to get through, whereas the loss of one was ruin. That one he lost at Marengo. Under such circumstances the English historian, Alison, wrote that the charge of Kellermann at Marengo "placed the crown on Napoleon's head," whereas the gain of that battle and four others would not have saved Melas from destruction if he had lost the sixth.

It is a remarkable fact that in the history of the world there have been but about fifteen decisive battles, or those which drew after them such consequences as decided the war. Such a battle was Austerlitz, which was the result of masterly "strategic" movements that brought the allies to fight at that place, and of consummate "tactical" skill which utterly destroyed them in the field. When Napoleon sat on his horse that misty morning, surrounded by his generals, with his cold gray eyes fixed with grim satisfaction on the movements of Kutusoff, as that commander, with presumptuous fatuity, was sliding his magnificent army from left to right, he quietly restrained the ardor of his lieutenants by admonishing them "never to interrupt an enemy while he was making a mistake." "If," said he, "you stop him now, it will be an ordinary battle; let him complete his movement, and we shall destroy him." The result was, that when the glorious "sun of Austerlitz" burst forth, their centre was taken and the allies sued for mercy. This was but a repetition of what had occurred years before on a smaller scale, on the plateau of Rivoli.



An Austrian force had there passed to the left and rear of the French, who looked uneasily over their shoulders at what they thought a danger. "Those people are ours," said the young commander; "we will take them at our leisure." The unerring sagacity with which the required blow was discerned, and the celerity and vigor with which that blow was delivered, astounded alike friend and foe. When shut up in Mantua, with the immense Austrian armies approaching, he did not dig and "work i' the earth," but sallied out, chose his battle-field, made the bridge of Arcole famous while the world stands, destroyed his enemies, and returned in triumph. Nevertheless, the ablest generals said he had no plan, and was fighting by hazard. Thus when the army invaded Spain, and was stopped before the pass of the Somosierra, a steep acclivity, at the top of which the guns of thirteen thousand Spanish troops were in position, the French generals reported the place impassable. Napoleon reconnoitred in person, ordered the Polish legion to charge up the pass and take the guns. They did so, and the army proceeded. Such a movement was out of all rule, and was pronounced foolhardy. But genius is above all rules. The prompt application of common sense to the exigencies of the moment is a mark of genius. Thus an obvious want of prompt conveyance for men, under the principle of combining the strongest force on a given point, as well in the "strategy" of a campaign as in the "tactics" of the battle-field, produced continual changes. For this end Napoleon organized the *voltigeurs*, or regiments of infantry acting with regiments of cavalry. When required at certain points on the battle-field, the infantry man vaults behind the horseman, and a double force is thus transported with celerity to the given point. This innovation produced great discussion among military martinets and theorists—as to whether an infantry soldier was any better for being taught cavalry exercise. A pamphlet war raged fiercely on the subject, while the real motive of the master

mind that directed the organization was not at all comprehended.

The vast strategic abilities of the great captain were not shared by his lieutenants, great as they were as "tacticians." The battle once arranged, each fulfilled his duties in a masterly manner. Thus of Lannes, the emperor remarked, that he found him a "pigmy and left him a giant," which referred to the gigantic ability with which, as a tactician, he could handle twenty thousand men on the battle-field. Soult, he said, was the "only military head" in Spain under Joseph. He could bring his army into the field and properly place it, but could go no further. When Napoleon himself was in Spain, driving the English under Sir John Moore before him, he heard of the approach of the Archduke Charles, the first general of the allies, upon Ratisbon, with two hundred thousand Austrians; he immediately flew to the spot, and found his own immense army so misplaced that he said to Bessières, "If I did not know your friendship, I should think you were betraying me." He spent the night receiving reports, and issuing his orders to the various corps, which obeyed them with prompt energy, bringing about those marvelous results on the following day which caused Wellington to exclaim, "The art of war was never perfected until now." The same strategic combination directed his armies with fatal effect upon the allies at Lutzen and Bautzen, when after the Russian campaign he was struggling against coalesced Europe. The several corps fulfilled their orders with the usual vigor, and on the field of Bautzen all that saved the allies from annihilation, was the hesitation of Ney to follow up his advantage, from a misunderstanding of the "strategical" combination, although Jomini, present with him in the field, advised him to develop his blow.

The allied generals were slow to learn and unable to compete with the great captain. When prolonged war had attenuated the strength of France, and Europe was

banded in vast numbers against him, their theory was not to fight but to elude his grasp. The conquest of Europe under such a leader was effected by lieutenants, each of whom in his own person represented the highest order of some species of military talent, and these talents had been drawn out in a lifetime of camp duty; but very few, if any, of the lieutenants ever arrived at the necessary ability to manage an independent corps of fifty thousand men in the field. Without the master mind, the vast power of France ceased to be formidable to the overwhelming numbers brought against her. In the early days of the French revolution, vast numbers of men were sent to the frontiers to defend the country, and these gradually became veteran soldiers of the best description. From their ranks rose the celebrated marshals who were the instruments of Napoleon's glory. But the draft was too great upon the male population of France, and as the struggle was prolonged through the life of a generation, although the genius of the emperor remained, the material of execution began to fail, and disaster closed the wars of the empire.

The United States have now unfortunately reached a position where not only have armies and military ability become necessary to the safety of the nation in its integrity, but Europe has been approximated by steam, and other empires are becoming consolidated on the continent, in such a manner as to make a foreign policy necessary, as well in regard to Canada, Mexico, and South America, as to Europe. The great conflict between the North and the South, like the revolution of France, has had the effect of calling a million of men from peaceful pursuits to the camps. They are raw troops, but there is no discord in the verdict of all experienced foreigners that no nation ever presented, in any degree, such fine material for soldiers. These men are now going through the alembic of the camps, and whatever of military genius is there will develop itself. The difficulty thus far has not been want of officers who have studied the military theory, but the want of those so

experienced in the field, and who have so constantly applied the principles of science to actual warfare, as to have them all at command to apply with prompt energy at the critical moment. It is evident that a man who, twenty years since, read medicine for a few months only, and then went into some other pursuit, is not a physician to be compared with him who has for years illustrated, in the actual service of the hospitals, the principles he had acquired, and then, with judgment and sagacity, employed his life in continual practice at the bedside. The military science, equally with all others, requires practical experience. The greatest writers on the science in Europe were very indifferent commanders in the field. It is for these reasons that with such unequalled material for troops, and such lavish resources, patience has become the chiefest of public virtues. It is no doubt the case that General Scott performed a brilliant, short, and effective campaign in Mexico, but it will be remembered that he was a life-long commander, of great natural skill, and that his command, composed of regular troops mostly, was, after all, but a trifle in numbers as compared with any of the corps now in the field. In relation to the "tactical aspects" of the war, it will be observed that the Union troops are on an immense line, running from the Potomac to the Mississippi, and on another running on the Atlantic coast down to the Gulf of Mexico. The enemy consequently occupy the centre, which, as we have seen of France in respect of Europe, is the strong position. The law of strategy in this case, requires the party occupying the circumference, to close his circle, and gradually contract it. But no commander or nation ever before had so vast a circle to close, and we may also add, never so great means with which to accomplish it. The enemy, occupying the centre, in accordance with the same laws is required to concentrate his force, remain on the defensive at all points, keeping his internal communications always clear, and hurling his condensed columns against the first army of his enemy that approaches.

If his means of communication are sufficient, it is apparent, that with a comparatively small force he can always outnumber the enemy at the decisive point. The power occupying the circumference, requires vastly superior numbers, and to be led by able generals, because the first which approaches is liable to meet the whole strength of the enemy. In the present case, we shall observe expeditions sent to hold each of the Atlantic cities, thus forming a chain on that line. On the Northern line there are, in succession, the armies of McClellan, Banks, Rosecrans, Grant, and Halleck. Thus, then, five armies in line have to perform a left wheel movement, turning on the army of McClellan. The whole, in so moving, must preserve the line like the simple left-wheel of a single platoon, because the army which outmarches the others so as to lose their support, will be crushed by a vigilant enemy. The whole line will then be broken. It is to be borne in mind that the mountains of Western Virginia, running north and south, form a barrier which prevents free communication. When McClellan was around Washington, the railroads formed for him communication with his western forces, through the northern passes of the range, but the enemy could communicate with theirs only to the south of that range. As McClellan approached Richmond, the reverse was the case. The enemy's communications were more prompt, and those of the Federals less so. This was in some degree compensated to the latter by the use of gunboats, as long as they lined the watercourses. The difficulties that resulted from their relative position could be overcome only by patient preparation.

In resuming the thread of military events from the defeat of Manassas, it may be considered that preparations for the war were but fairly commenced with the recovery of the public mind from the effects of that disaster. The whole movement from the attempt to reinforce Fort Sumter in the beginning of April, had been irregular and spasmodic. It was impelled by the

first impatient burst of popular enthusiasm, and had not been prepared or directed by the statesman-like consideration which eminently important movements required. If the secession movement at the South had been long planned and deliberately considered, with all the contingencies foreseen and the necessities of the case provided for, such had not been the case at the North. The last session of the thirty-sixth Congress had passed amidst vain attempts at compromise on the part of the minority, to which the majority only opposed a "masterly inactivity," while the impression was disseminated that no outbreak would take place. The fall of Sumter, the sudden activity of the executive, the calling out of the militia, the hasty assembling of troops, the hurried march and the premature attacks, were all apparently impulsive, without any deliberately considered policy, and the whole ended disastrously when Congress had been finally assembled. All the armies that were forming, and which composed the aggregate of 240,000 men reported by the secretary of war on the meeting of Congress, had felt the paralyzing influence of the collapse at Bull Run. The force at Fortress Monroe, under General Butler, was diminished in order hastily to reinforce Washington. General Banks evacuated Harper's Ferry and concentrated nearer to Washington, at Point of Rocks, where he was anxiously watching western Maryland.

In Missouri, the successes which had accompanied General Lyon's earlier battles were partially lost with his death, and General Sigel had been compelled to fall back to Rolla, thus leaving south-western and western Missouri to be again overrun by the marauders who had so nearly been driven from the state, and time was required to organize an army to complete the work thus undone. The army of the Potomac was protecting Washington, and General Wool, appointed on the 20th of August to the command of Fortress Monroe, found little beside Newport News and the fortress itself in his possession.



In Western Virginia Rosecrans, the successor of General McClellan, held his position and commanded the key of the mountain passes. The 75,000 militia, or what was left of them, who had been called out for three months, had returned to their homes, and their places were more than filled by a body of stalwart volunteers, who had enlisted for three years or the war, but who, though furnishing the best material for soldiers in the world, were as yet utterly undisciplined. The Confederate force was hardly as strong as ours; had it been, they would have captured the capital. The brilliant victories of Rich Mountain and Beverly had given a prestige to the name of General McClellan which seemed to justify the government in calling him to the work of organizing this rapidly increasing mass of volunteers into a well ordered, well disciplined army. There was no lack of money, and the munitions of war were becoming more abundant; but the formation of an army required time and patience, and the people, convinced of this by the sad disaster of Bull Run, were disposed to grant both. They felt that henceforth it was no holiday work in which they were engaged. The Southern volunteers, inflamed to hate of the North by the artful proclamations and appeals of their leaders, were a more formidable foe than they had been supposed, and though not the equals of the Northern soldiery in steady, persistent valor, they were brave and under able and efficient leaders.

It was felt, indeed, that there was some danger of European interference, since the desire for cotton, the eagerness for free trade, and the misrepresentations of the agents of the Confederacy, all combined with the disaster of Bull Run to prompt to an interference which the aristocratic element in Great Britain and the friends of despotism in France would have rejoiced to see undertaken; but fortunately, the scanty and insufficient crops of England and France, and the necessity of procuring breadstuffs from us, bound these two great powers to keep the peace,



and thus, enormous as was the expenditure, there was time for the needful delay.

When the army of the Potomac retired upon Washington, it was in a state of complete demoralization. Military duties were, to a considerable extent, abandoned, and disorderly troops, with the remains of their equipments, crowded the streets. The bars and hotels were filled with officers whose regiments were in a complete state of disorganization. The citizens were uneasy, and the small shop-keepers trembled for their little stores. There was no efficient head to enforce obedience or restore order. In the midst of this condition of affairs, General McClellan was called from Western Virginia to take command, the extent of which was designated in the following order:—

“WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL’S OFFICE,  
“WASHINGTON, *July 25th*, 1861.

“There will be added to the department of the Shenandoah the counties of Washington, Alleghany, in Maryland, and such other parts of Virginia as may be covered by the army in its operations. And there will be added to the department of Washington the counties of Prince George, Montgomery, and Frederick. The remainder of Maryland, and all of Pennsylvania and Delaware, will constitute the department of Pennsylvania; headquarters, Baltimore. The department of Washington and the department of north-eastern Virginia will constitute a geographical division under Major-General McClellan, United States Army, headquarters, Washington.”

On the following day, July 26th, General McClellan arrived in Washington, and immediately set about the work of reform. On the 30th of July, amidst the prevailing confusion, the following order appeared:—

“HEADQUARTERS, DIVISION OF THE POTOMAC,  
“WASHINGTON, *July 30th*, 1861.

“The general commanding the division has with much regret observed that large numbers of officers and men stationed in the vicinity of Washington, are in the habit of frequenting the streets and hotels of the city. This practice is eminently prejudicial to good order and military discipline, and must at once be discontinued.

“The time and services of all persons connected with this division should be devoted to their appropriate duties with their respective commands. It is therefore directed that hereafter no officer or soldier be allowed to absent himself from his camp and visit Washington, except for the performance of some public duty, or the trans-

action of important private business, for which purposes written permits will be given by the commanders of brigades. The permit will state the object of the visit. Brigade commanders will be held responsible for the strict execution of this order.

"Colonel Andrew Porter, of the sixteenth United States infantry, is detailed for temporary duty as provost-marshal in Washington, and will be obeyed and respected accordingly. Colonel Porter will report in person at these headquarters for instructions.

"By command of MAJ.-GEN. McCLELLAN.

"S. WILLIAMS, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*"

Colonel Porter, an active officer of the regular army and a man of great determination and vigor, at once organized his patrols, and, while the guard-houses were speedily filled, the streets were emptied. He set to work with such vigor, that Washington, which went to bed in very poor spirits one night, found that the evil had vanished in twenty-four hours, and that next night she could sleep in peace. That the steps taken were vigorous, and that they were requisite, was manifest in another order issued in support of the former, by which the evil was entirely remedied, and the troops, confined to their quarters, began to bend to the force of discipline. The insubordination had reached to the extent of open mutiny in a part of one or two regiments. The enforcement of rigid discipline was at first distasteful to numbers, but the great intelligence of the men came in aid of the efforts of the general, and they were not slow in acknowledging the necessity and in submitting to it cheerfully. Some discontented spirits required rooting out, but the whole came gradually to feel the master's hand. The Spanish General Lana, who had been at Washington on a visit, thus describes the state of affairs in a letter of the same date as the order of General McClellan, to a Havana journal:—

"It is necessary to see this place to be convinced of what is occurring, and to form an idea of what kind of affair an army is composed of men without any military habits, and led by officers—chiefs and generals—who are for the most part devoid of the knowledge necessary. Excepting the war material in the transportation department, such as wagons, gun-carriages, ambulances, &c., &c., which is mag-

nificent, all else is a confusion of ill-clad men without any military instruction, and, what is worse, without trying to acquire it, according to appearances, since during the time I remained there I have seen them pass days and nights in the camps without doing any thing, with the exception of battalion drill for a short while in the morning and again in the evening."

Mortifying to our national pride as was such a state of things, announced by a foreigner, it was nevertheless not exaggerated, and affords evidence of the task that was to be accomplished. The new general exerted himself to the utmost in urging forward troops, and in one case a senator was so much impressed by his statements, that he telegraphed, on his own responsibility, to the governor of his state, to send at once every regiment he could muster, to Washington. These exertions, added to those of the administration, were soon followed by a stream of military setting into Washington to replace the three months men departed, and the broken bands that had fallen back from Manassas. These new troops were untainted by the demoralization that marked the old ones. The material of some of the Northern regiments could not be excelled. Splendid men, young, tall, robust, intelligent and accustomed to adventure. These, as they arrived, were sent over the river and put to incessant drilling and the construction of field-works. At first they were employed in the construction of a great abattis from Fort Ellsworth, at Alexandria, across the front of the position, and gradually in the formation of numerous camps. By the 1st of September there were about twenty-four battalions of infantry of all sorts, and eight squadrons of cavalry in the capital, and around it on the left bank of the Potomac, up to the chain bridge. There were about thirty battalions south of the Potomac, and a regiment of cavalry, the whole force consisting of about 45,000 men, not including Banks's column at Harper's Ferry, or the command of General Dix, at Baltimore. Of the forty-nine guns which McDowell's army took into the field, twenty-five remained in the hands of the enemy, leaving

some deficiency in artillery, which government exerted itself to supply. General McDowell remained in command of the troops at Arlington. The headquarters of the commander were on the corner of Pennsylvania avenue and Nineteenth street, where, over a plain three-story house, the American flag floated. Around it were hitched a number of horses, whose trappings were the only insignia of war visible. In the third story, in the backroom, sat the general, by the side of a rude pine table, quietly reading his dispatches, and patiently listening to his officers. Around him, upon the wall, were his maps and charts; before him tables, showing his forces and their location, with the position of his rebel foe. The two lower stories were occupied by his staff, and the business of their different departments.

Here, gradually, an army was formed, and Washington encircled with defences. The men were drilled and inured to camp duties, while the government was using every exertion to supply them with arms.

The laws which had passed Congress provided for two branches of service—the volunteer and the regular army. The number of volunteers was to be five hundred thousand, though, by the passage of two bills, authority was inadvertently given for raising one million. They were to serve for three years or during the war, and to be organized into regiments of ten companies, each having from seventy-seven to one hundred and one men, the maximum number of officers and men in the regiment being one thousand and forty-six. From three to five regiments formed a brigade, under a brigadier-general, and two or more brigades a division, under a major-general. At first the most experienced colonels served as acting brigadiers, and in some instances as acting major-generals; but very soon a considerable number of brigadier-generals and the requisite number of major-generals were nominated by the President, and most of them confirmed by Congress. The whole number of brigadier-generals thus confirmed, to the

close of the session of Congress in July, 1862, was one hundred and eighty. In some instances these appointments were made as a reward for services rendered in raising recruits, &c., but for the most part the officers appointed have proved skilful and efficient commanders.

The pay of the volunteers from the Federal government was the same as that of the regular army, but in order to encourage the re-enlistment of the three-months men, and to fill up the ranks speedily, most of the states, and many of the towns and counties, made considerable addition to the emoluments of the men, by laws making extra allowance of pay, and of monthly provision for such as had families. These swelled the pay of volunteers to twenty dollars, and in some cases more, per month. There were many complaints among the volunteers in regard to food, but these seemed not on the whole to be well founded, but arose from the change from home comforts to camp life. No army in the world had better rations than the troops of the United States, yet there was much dissatisfaction. Some mutineers were sent to the Tortugas, and some organizations were disbanded and others punished. At Fortress Monroe General Butler had to bring his guns to bear upon some mutinous men.

An increase of the regular army to the extent of nine regiments of infantry, one of artillery, and one of cavalry, was also authorized by Congress, the regiments to be formed on the French model, and consist of from fifteen hundred to twenty-two hundred men; but the inducements offered to volunteers were so much greater that not one of these regiments was filled up, and the small number of men enlisted were incorporated in the existing regiments of the regular army. It was believed that, as it would undoubtedly be necessary, at the close of the war, to maintain a considerably larger army than before, a sufficient number could at that time be readily enlisted from the volunteers, and the efforts to organize new regular regiments were relinquished.

The question of increasing the number of cadets in the Military Academy at West Point was discussed for a long time in Congress, but the country had suffered so severely from the treason of a large number of the graduates of that institution, which had furnished a President and all its ablest military leaders to the Southern Confederacy, that there was a strong opposition to any increase of pupils there, and the cadets now in attendance were required to take an oath of allegiance in a new form, by which they bound themselves to maintain and defend the sovereignty of the United States, paramount to any and all allegiance or fealty which they might owe to any state or country whatsoever.

Congress also invested the President, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, with the indispensable power of dismissing or removing officers at pleasure, without a court of inquiry, as well as of assigning them positions of higher or lower rank, as he might deem for the good of the service, and the successful prosecution of the war.

The volunteer troops as they arrived were passed into camps of instruction, and were made to drill regularly as fast as the difficulty of lack of arms was overcome. By the month of September the front, with a breadth of five miles from the Potomac, had its left a short distance below Alexandria, and its right near Lewinsville, a distance of twenty-four miles following the lines. The Potomac river forms a half-circle from Great Falls, eight miles above the chain bridge, to Mount Vernon, eight miles below Alexandria. Thus the Federal troops formed a crescent on the western side of the river, with Washington as its convex side, and the Confederate troops, touching the river above and below, enclosed this half-circle. At Lewinsville the Union right flank was on the east bank of the river, under General Banks, whose headquarters were at Poolesville. He there faced the left flank of the Confederates, who held Leesburg, six or eight miles west of the



river. The whole Virginia side of the Potomac in that region is of a very rough and almost mountainous character, and is mostly covered with a dense growth of small timber, thickets, and underbrush. The roads into the interior form a gradually ascending grade over steep and heavy hills, covered with this species of timber, a comparatively small portion of the land only being cleared and in cultivation. From Alexandria to Georgetown, inclusive, nearly all the roads leading out terminate at or before reaching the Leesburg turnpike, which runs parallel with the river, within a few miles of it, and all that is valuable of it was held by the enemy. From thence on, the roads diminish in number, gradually centring toward Fairfax and Manassas, and enabling an army to concentrate as it falls back, should it be compelled to do so. His lines now crossed all these roads at no point over five miles from the river, with the Leesburg turnpike—the only road of any size or length—just in the rear, and affording him the greatest facilities in shifting his force from one point to another. To attempt to cut other roads through such a country would be a work of the greatest difficulty, if not impossibility, and could be easily met and thwarted by the enemy.

The aggressive campaign of the north had ended unsuccessfully. The utmost energy was displayed by the Union general in taking advantage of every natural facility for strengthening the position, and within a few weeks every variety of works—ranging from the most elaborate earthen forts to simple lines of intrenchments and rifle-pits—constituted a chain of apparently impregnable defences. Whole forests were also cut down to give an unobstructed and wider range from the various positions.

Nor was this all. On the Maryland side, with the exception of a tract south of the east branch, the city was surrounded with works of an equally formidable character. These were of the finest description of field defences, while on the north side of the army a chain of redoubts stretched



on the heights from the rear of Georgetown toward the Baltimore railway. These extensive intrenchments required a considerable force to defend and cover them. In this defensive position the grand army of the United States was destined to remain many months, immediately defending the capital, which thus, in the eyes of the world, underwent a long siege.

The necessity of remaining in this position, until the army was fully and thoroughly organized and disciplined, seemed at first view humiliating, and gave rise to many taunts from the sympathizers with the rebellion on both sides of the water. But the accumulating force on the Potomac had not attained formidable proportions in numbers till late in the autumn, and each successive regiment, as it came into camp, required education in all the duties of the soldier—the officers, many of whom had not had a military education or seen service, hardly less than the men; and when educated to regimental duties and drill, they still required a training for movements in larger bodies, as brigades, divisions, and *corps d'armée*. They were not like the standing armies of Europe, who had had in time of peace the instruction and training which qualified them to move immediately on the enemy. There was indeed the material for something greatly better than those armies, in intelligence, muscular power, and a consciousness of the holiness of their cause, but it was only to be developed by culture. Dr. Russell, the correspondent of the London *Times*, watched for months the development of this great army, and more than once bore emphatic testimony to its rapid improvement. It should be remembered, too, that heavy drafts were made on the best disciplined troops of this army for other expeditions requiring a well-trained force, such as the Port Royal and Burnside expeditions.

The Confederate force which confronted Washington was not in a condition any more favorable to movement than the Federal troops. They had suffered a heavier loss

in killed and wounded at Bull Run than the Union troops, and their resources, whether in money, men, or munitions of war, were less than those possessed by the Federal government. In the first panic which followed the battle, they might have pressed on and perhaps have taken, though they could not have held, the Federal capital; but as time passed their strength did not increase in a ratio at all corresponding with that of the Federal forces, and the repeated and successful attacks made upon the Southern coast distracted their attention, and rendered them cautious and fearful. The policy of their leading commander, General P. G. T. Beauregard, whom the Confederate President had raised to the highest rank in their army on the field of Bull Run, was one of caution and defensive rather than offensive warfare.

The want of means of transportation was one of the alleged causes of the inactivity of the Confederates, but both General Lana and Prince Napoleon had expressed the utmost admiration of the quality of the mules and horses which are so abundant at the South. They had captured twenty-five brass guns, a rifled thirty-pound cannon, great numbers of muskets and munitions, with numerous wagons, and were, perhaps, in the early autumn, as well provided with cannon as the Federal troops. Nevertheless no decided movement was made, although the troops acted in a manner to keep up the profound anxiety which occupied the mind of the new Union commander. The Confederate lines gradually advanced on the right to within two and a half miles of Alexandria, on the Union left, while the left of the Confederates was accumulating strength toward the upper Potomac. Winchester, connected by railroad with Harper's Ferry; Strasburg, an important town of the Shenandoah Valley, and communicating by the Manassas Gap railroad with Manassas Junction; and Leesburg, already mentioned, the terminus of the Alexandria, Loudon and Hampshire railroad, were each occupied by considerable bodies of their troops. They had also a strong

force between Fairfax Court House and Alexandria. This disposition pointed to a desire, on the part of General Beauregard, to cut off Banks at Harper's Ferry, and make an irruption into western Maryland. It is quite certain that he had actually commenced his march on the 28th of August to cross the Potomac, and cut off Banks's column, when he received the news that General McClellan, foreseeing the probability of such a movement, had baffled him, by ordering Banks to withdraw from Harper's Ferry, and concentrate his forces nearer to Point of Rocks. In the creeks of the Potomac, below Washington, the Confederates had collected a large number of scows and flat-bottomed boats; at Aquia Creek, where the railroad to Richmond commences, they had erected batteries, and also at Matthias Point. These facts pointed to a project to cross the Potomac to Port Tobacco, whence a march of twenty-five miles would bring the Confederates in the rear of Washington, cutting the railroad thence to Annapolis. The time, however, passed away, and the Confederates made no attempt, while every day the Union position was becoming more impregnable and the army more perfect, either for defence or offence. On the 12th of September General Smith made a reconnoissance with two thousand men to Lewinsville, remained there several hours, and completed his examination of the ground. When the work was completed and the command had started back, the enemy opened fire with shell, by which two men were killed and three wounded. Griffin's battery silenced that of the enemy, and our men came back in perfect order, and excellent spirits. The men behaved most admirably under the fire. General McClellan concluded his report by remarking, "We shall have no more Bull Run affairs." The following general order was issued in the first week in September :

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,  
"WASHINGTON, *September 6th*, 1861.

"The major-general commanding desires and requests that in future

there may be a more perfect respect for the Sabbath on the part of his command. We are fighting in a holy cause, and should endeavor to deserve the benign favor of the Creator. Unless in case of attack by the enemy or some other extreme military necessity, it is commended to the commanding officers that all work shall be suspended on the Sabbath; that no unnecessary movements shall be made on that day; that the men shall, as far as possible, be permitted to rest from their labors; that they shall attend Divine service after the customary Sunday morning inspection; and that officers and men alike use their influence to insure the utmost decorum and quiet on that day.

"The general commanding regards this as no idle form. One day's rest in seven is necessary for men and animals. More than this, the observance of the holy day of the God of mercy and of battles is our sacred duty.

"GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN,

[Official.]

"*Major-General commanding.*

"S. WILLIAMS, *Asst. Adj.-General.*"

On the 26th of August, the first of those naval expeditions which were designed to occupy the sea-coast, in accordance with the plan of the war, by which the Confederates were to be encircled and their power of resistance crushed, as in the folds of an anaconda, left Fortress Monroe. Hatteras Inlet, on the coast of North Carolina, had formed a convenient refuge for privateers, and a number of steamers issued therefrom, to prey on the Northern commerce. The inlet is an opening in the long sand-bank which encloses the shallow sheets of water known as Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, the former of which receives the waters of the Roanoke and Chowan rivers, and the latter those of the Neuse and Pamlico. At this point the Confederates had erected two forts, which it was determined to seize. Accordingly, a strong military and naval force, under Commodore Stringham and General Butler, sailed for that destination. General Butler, with 500 men of the twentieth New York, under Colonel Weber; 220 of the ninth New York Zouaves, under Colonel Hawkins; 100 of the Union Coast Guard, Captain Nixon; and 60 of the United States artillery, under Lieutenant Larned, embarked on board the steam transports Adelaide and George Peabody, to co-operate with the fleet. This consisted of the Minnesota, flag-ship, with the steamers Wabash, Monticello, Pawnee,

and Harriet Lane. On the 27th, at nine A. M., the fleet reached Hatteras, when preparations for landing commenced. A twelve-pound rifled gun and a twelve-pound howitzer were placed in the Adelaide. General Butler, with the marines under Captain Shuttleworth, went in the Harriet Lane, and at half-past eleven o'clock the landing commenced, under cover of the fire of the Pawnee, Monticello, and Harriet Lane. The Wabash, towing the Cumberland, opened fire upon Fort Clark, which returned it. The vessels continued to pass and repass, sustaining the fire, until the fort was abandoned by the enemy, who left the shore in boats. The Monticello was then sent into the inlet, to take possession, but as it approached, Fort Hatteras opened fire upon it. A steam-tug, with a schooner filled with troops, was approaching to relieve Hatteras. The vessels again opened upon the fort, and the fire was continued until night, when the squadron hauled off. Meantime, 315 troops had been landed, with the rifled gun and howitzer, when it came on to blow, and the operation ceased. The men that were landed bivouacked upon the beach. Early next morning the fleet again opened upon the forts, but the shot fell short. Nevertheless, a flag of truce was hung out from the fort. The Fanny, with General Butler, then went in over the bar, and the Confederate vessel, which had not landed its troops, fled up the sound. Colonel Weber with the troops had occupied Fort Clark the previous night. The commander of Fort Hatteras, Samuel Barron, of the Confederate navy, offered to surrender the fort—the officers to go out with side-arms, and the men to retire. This was refused, and an unconditional surrender demanded by General Butler. The demand was complied with, and Captain Barron, Major Andrews, and Colonel Martin accompanied General Butler on board the Minnesota, to draw up articles of capitulation. These articles were as follows :

“It is stipulated and agreed between the contracting parties that the forces under the command of Barron, Martin, and Andrews, and

all munitions of war, arms, men, and property under the command of the said Barron, Martin, and Andrews, be unconditionally surrendered to the government of the United States in terms of full capitulation. And it is stipulated and agreed by the contracting parties, on the part of the United States government, that the officers and men shall receive the treatment due to prisoners of war."

Commodore Barron, as a former officer of the United States navy, found in arms against his government, had forfeited his life, and was justly amenable to the penalty of treason in the first degree; but it was one of the many exemplifications of the leniency which the United States government has exercised toward prominent traitors when taken prisoners, that he only suffered the imprisonment due to ordinary prisoners of war. He was, at the time of his capture, assistant secretary of the Confederate navy.

The prisoners numbered seven hundred and fifteen officers and men; two forts, thirty-one cannon, one thousand stand of arms, and some ammunition were also captured. The losses in the forts were eight killed, and a few wounded. None of the United States troops were injured. The prisoners were brought to New York.

The interest of the war now turned once more to the West, where General Fremont had assumed command, July 26th, of the department of the West, embracing Illinois and the states and territories between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains. He established his headquarters at St. Louis, and made that the point for the gathering of troops. He also located a camp at Jefferson City, for the reception of Illinois and other volunteers, and placed it under the command of General Pope,\* who, on the 19th

\* John Pope was born in Kentucky. In 1838 he graduated at West Point. In 1842 he was made second-lieutenant engineers; won his brevet as first-lieutenant at Monterey, in 1847, and as captain at Buena Vista; brigadier-general, August 5th, 1861. In 1849 he conducted the Minnesota exploring expedition, having accomplished which, he acted as topographical engineer in New Mexico until 1853, when he was assigned to the command of one of the expeditions to survey the route of the Pacific Railroad. From 1854 to 1859 he was engaged in this work, during which time—viz.: on the 1st of July, 1856—he was promoted to a captaincy in the corps of topo-



of July, issued a proclamation to the people of north Missouri, stating that he had come to maintain the authority of the government.

Immediately on his arrival, General Fremont exerted himself to raise and arm a force for the rescue of the state from the secessionists, who were determined to possess it. Regiments of undisciplined troops soon began to pour in, but there were neither arms nor equipments sufficient for them, and the condition of things was critical. Cairo and St. Louis were threatened by the large Confederate force at Columbus and below; while in south-western Missouri the gallant Lyon, who had pushed on to Springfield, was in peril from the greatly superior force of McCulloch and Rains, who had formed a junction and were advancing to meet him, his own little army being reduced meanwhile by the expiration of the term of service of the Iowa three months regiments. He was, however, receiving a considerable number of new recruits. General Fremont was placed in a difficult position. His force at St. Louis, undisciplined and poorly armed as it was, was hardly sufficient to resist an attack with such force as the enemy could bring against it; and Cairo, a point of the utmost strategical importance, was only defended by a handful of disorganized troops. If he sent any reinforcements to General Lyon, they could hardly reach him in time, while their withdrawal would seriously imperil St. Louis and Cairo. Forced to decide between such alternatives, he felt himself compelled to retain the force at his command

graphical engineers. On the 17th of May, 1861, he was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers, and assigned to a command in north Missouri. In December he served in central Missouri, under General Halleck. On the 17th of that month he scattered the rebel camp at Shawnee Mound. On the 18th he surprised another camp near Milford, and took some 1,300 prisoners. This campaign cleared this district. On the 22d of February, 1862, he captured New Madrid. For this he was made a major-general. He was next appointed commander of a corps d'armée to co-operate with Halleck in the reduction of Corinth. In June, 1862, he was assigned to the command of the army of Virginia, over Fremont, Banks, and McDowell.



in a position to repel the expected assault on Cairo and St. Louis. He was further led to adopt this course by the knowledge that General Lyon's little army was composed of brave and disciplined troops, well armed, and with a superior park of artillery, which could be well handled by his experienced artillerists. At the most, if the Federal troops were driven back from Springfield, the ground could soon be regained, while the capture of Cairo or St. Louis would be ruin to the Union cause.

Meantime General Lyon occupied Springfield with about 5,500 men. The Confederate generals McCulloch, Rains, Price, and Parsons were at Marysville, Arkansas, not far from the Missouri line, drilling and organizing their troops. In the last days of July they moved northward in two columns to Sarcoxie and Cassville, and on the 1st of August commenced an advance toward Springfield. Their force at this time was from 20,000 to 25,000. On the 1st of August General Lyon ordered his troops to rendezvous at Crane Creek, ten miles south of Springfield.

His force was composed as follows: five companies first and second regiment regulars, Major Sturgis; five companies first regiment Missouri volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews; two companies second regiment Missouri volunteers, Major Osterhaus; three companies third regiment Missouri volunteers, Colonel Sigel; fifth regiment Missouri volunteers, Colonel Salomon; first regiment Iowa volunteers, Colonel J. F. Bates; first regiment Kansas volunteers, Colonel Deitzler; second regiment Kansas volunteers, Colonel Mitchell; two companies first regular cavalry, Captains Stanley and Carr; three companies first regular cavalry (recruits), Lieutenant Lathrop; Captain J. Totten's battery regular artillery, six guns, six and twelve pounders; Lieutenant Dubois' battery regular artillery, four guns, six and twelve pounders; Captain Schaeffer's battery Missouri volunteer artillery, six guns, six and twelve pounders.

The whole column was under the immediate command of Major-General Lyon, while acting Brigadier-Generals Sweeny and Sigel, and Major Sturgis, were intrusted with the most important subsidiary charges.

The march commenced at five o'clock on the afternoon of August 1st. The baggage-wagons, one hundred and eighty in number, were scattered over a distance of three miles. The camp at Crane Creek was reached about ten o'clock, the men marching slowly and making frequent halts to get the benefit of shade or water. On the following day the march was continued to Dug Springs, where the enemy's columns appeared in sight. The position of the parties was in an oblong basin of five miles in length, surrounded by hills from which spurs projected into the basin, covered with thickets. A detachment of cavalry, only twenty-seven in number, was sent forward to reconnoitre, and on reaching the brow of a hill, they found themselves directly in front of McCulloch's force. The lieutenant and his men saw that they had nothing to do but to fight their way through, which they did, with the loss of four or five men. Making their way around the valley, they rejoined General Lyon's command, and a fight at once followed. General Lyon had twenty-nine pieces of artillery, of which, however, only ten rounds were fired from two of the pieces. McCulloch's force discharged a like number of shots from two pieces, and then fled. General Lyon immediately occupied the battle-ground, and found upon the field the bodies of forty killed, and forty-four wounded, of the invaders. On the side of the Union troops, the loss was eight or ten, and thirty wounded. General Lyon captured eighty stand of arms, of every variety, and a good many horses.

It appeared that the enemy, under General Sterling Price, broke up their camp July 25th, and effected a junction with the force of McCulloch at Cassville, July 28th. The combined army then was put under marching orders in three divisions. The first, under McCulloch, left Cass-

ville, August 1st, for Springfield. The second, under General Price, of Arkansas, followed; and the third division, under Brigadier-General Steen, of Missouri, left on the 2d of August, General Price proceeding with the second division. The advance guard of McCulloch reported the Federals in force on the road in his front, and waited the arrival of the second division. August 2d, six companies of mounted Missourians, under Rains, were driven in by Lyon's advance guard, and a skirmish took place. The Confederates then concentrated at Crane's Creek, and resumed their march, following Lyon's retiring force. On the 4th McCulloch was invested with the entire command, and on the 5th reached Wilson's Creek, ten miles south-west of Springfield.

General Lyon, having rested his men, determined, on the 9th, to attack the enemy in his camp at Wilson's creek. Accordingly, his force was formed in three columns: the first under General Lyon; the second under Colonel Sigel;\* the third under Major Sturgis. The first division marched at five P. M. on the 9th, making a detour to the right, to strike the northern point or left of the enemy's camp. They came within sight of the enemy's fires at one o'clock A. M., and halted until dawn. A line of battle was then formed, and advanced until the outposts of the enemy were driven in. McCulloch's camp extended in a valley along Wilson's Creek for three miles, and followed the bends of the stream to the north at its western extremity, and to the south at the eastern. Sigel's attack was to be made at

\* Franz Sigel was born in the Grand Duchy of Baden, in 1824, and was educated in the military school of Carlsruhe. He became chief adjutant in the Baden army in 1847, and was called the best artillerist in Germany. In the revolution of 1848 he was commander-in-chief of the revolutionary army, and being defeated by an immense force, migrated to this country. He was colonel of a German New York regiment, professor of military science at St. Louis, colonel and acting brigadier under General Lyon. He was made a brigadier-general in August, 1861, his commission dating from May 17th. He made a famous retreat from Wilson's Creek; was present at the battle of Pea Ridge, February, 1862, for his skill in which battle he was made major-general, and received a command in Western Virginia.

the latter point, the flank and rear of the enemy, and Lyon moved, therefore, upon the western and northern extremity, down the head of the valley. The line of Lyon advanced with great energy, taking the enemy by surprise and driving him in. He soon brought up fresh troops and restored the fight, till every available battalion was brought up by Lyon, and the battle raged with great fury for more than an hour, when, the troops getting into some disorder, General Lyon, leading his horse in endeavoring to rally the men, received two wounds, one in the head and one in the leg, his horse being killed at the same time. He walked slowly to the rear, saying, "I fear the day is lost." He then procured another horse, and, swinging his hat in the air, called to the troops nearest him to follow. The second Kansas gallantly rallied around him, headed by the brave Colonel Mitchell. In a few moments the colonel fell, severely wounded; about the same time a fatal ball was lodged in the general's breast, and he was carried from the field a corpse. "Thus gloriously fell as brave a soldier as ever drew a sword—a man whose honesty of purpose was proverbial—a noble patriot, and one who held his life as nothing when his country demanded it of him."

The battle was sustained some time after the fall of Lyon, when the order to retire was given, and the retreat upon Springfield commenced. The column of Sigel had been defeated, with the loss of five guns and a stand of colors of the third regiment. The disaster was attributed by General Sigel to the three months men. The loss of his brigade was 892 men. The whole Union loss was 223 killed, including General Lyon and a number of officers, 721 wounded, and 292 missing, out of 5,000 men engaged. There were of the Missouri state forces engaged 5,221, of whom 156 were killed and 517 wounded. The whole loss 265 killed, 800 wounded, and 30 missing. When the retreating Union troops reached Springfield, the command was by Major Sturgis turned over to Sigel, who gave orders

BATTLE OF WILLOW CREEK, DEATH OF GEN. LYON.







for continuing the retreat, which was prosecuted on the morning of the 10th. When the army passed the river Gasconade the command was again assumed by Major Sturgis, who pushed on toward Rolla. Major Sturgis assumed command of the army after the first day's retreat, for the reason that General Sigel had not then received his commission as a general, although it bears date May 17th.

Meantime, the Confederates, under McCulloch, occupied Springfield, and on the 12th the general issued an order congratulating the troops on the victories, and enjoining the most scrupulous respect for private property. He also issued a proclamation to the people of Missouri, calling upon Unionists to return to their homes, and assuring them of protection, and avowing his intention to release Union prisoners. He called upon them to choose their own destiny, to side either with the North or the South.

On the next day, General Pope, in northern Missouri, issued a proclamation regulating the free navigation of the Missouri river.

The defeat at Springfield had thrown the most considerable interior points of the state into the hands of the Confederates. The most important military line south of the Missouri river, and west of Jefferson City, is the Osage river. This line was now almost completely in the hands of the enemy. Bodies of troops belonging to Jackson's south-western army had taken possession of Warsaw, Tusculumbia, and Osceola; and the most important strategical points on the Missouri river, north of this line, viz., Kansas City, Lexington, and Booneville, were unoccupied by the Unionists, and were exposed to capture by the advance of either Hardee's or Price's forces from the south, and the whole efforts of the Unionists were now directed to the security of St. Louis and Jefferson City. For this purpose the most essential strategical points against an attack from the south were Rolla, Ironton, and Cape Girardeau.



Ironton was easy of defence from its superb natural advantages, to which a few judiciously erected batteries had added material strength. Cape Girardeau was much exposed, and its possession by the enemy would have given him control of the Mississippi, and enabled him to send troops by boats to St. Louis. There was, however, no force to send there. Rolla was the most exposed. It was held by the remains of Sigel's army, the greater portion of which consisted of the third and fifth Missouri, first and second Kansas, and first Iowa, all three months volunteers, whose term of service had expired long before the battle of Springfield, and they had returned to St. Louis to be mustered out of service, and reorganized for three years, thus leaving little more than six thousand men at Rolla to meet the advancing Confederates.

General Sigel was at St. Louis arranging plans for future operations with Major-General Fremont. His chief want was artillery and cavalry, which the department was unable to supply. Jefferson City was garrisoned by five thousand troops, under the command of General Grant.\* Fortifications were to be erected, and home guards organized in a similar manner, as had been done in St. Louis, with a view to secure a proper defence for the capital at the least possible expense of men.

\* Ulysses S. Grant is a native of Ohio, and was born in 1822. He graduated at West Point in 1843, served in the Mexican war, and was second-lieutenant and acting regimental quartermaster of the fourth infantry. His conduct at Molino del Rey was reported as "distinguished for gallantry." In 1847 he was promoted to a first-lieutenancy, and in 1853 made captain. Having resigned in 1854, he settled in mercantile business in Galena, but when volunteers were called for, raised a regiment of infantry in Illinois, and was made colonel of the twenty-first regiment by Governor Yates, and having been appointed brigadier-general, May, 1861, superseded General Prentiss at Cape Girardeau, Mo. He took command of south-east Missouri, with his headquarters at Cairo; occupied Paducah, Ky., on the 6th of September; fought the Confederates at Belmont, on the 7th of November; commanded at the capture of Fort Donelson, in February, 1862, and at the severe battle of Shiloh, in March; and was afterward commander of the army of the Tennessee, and in July had his headquarters at Memphis.

The forces of McCulloch and Price\* were slowly advancing toward the north. After having issued the proclamation at Springfield, McCulloch, who was profuse in protestations of mild treatment, released most of his prisoners unconditionally, and sent them home. This was supposed to have been intended to affect the state election for a convention then about to take place.

Meantime, the news of the defeat at Springfield had produced great excitement in St. Louis, and many with Southern sympathies did not conceal their joy at the fall of Lyon. Apprehensions of disorder were excited, and it was judged expedient to take steps toward declaring martial law. Still other urgent considerations, such as the known antecedents and sympathies of certain police officials, suggested the propriety of such a course. By authority of Major-General Fremont, Major McKinstry notified police-chief McDonough, at three p. m., that the city would be substantially placed in charge of the United States military. A proclamation was issued under date of August 12th. This invited the three months men to re-enlist for the war, and prescribed the mode of organization. The proclamation declaring martial law was as follows :

“HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEPARTMENT,

“ST. LOUIS, *August 14th.*

“I hereby declare and establish martial law in the city and county of St. Louis. Major J. McKinstry, United States army, is appointed provost-marshal. All orders and regulations issued by him will be respected and obeyed accordingly.

“J. C. FREMONT,

“*Major-General commanding.*”

\* Sterling Price was born in Missouri. He first became prominent as a military character during the Mexican war, in which he appeared as colonel of a volunteer regiment of Missouri cavalry. On the 20th of July, 1847, he was made brigadier-general of the United States volunteers. He commanded in an engagement at Cañada, New Mexico, January 24th, 1848, and at the battle of Santa Cruz de Rosales, March 16th, 1848; in the former he was wounded. His troops were disbanded in November, 1848. When Missouri rebelled, Governor Jackson placed him in command of the secession forces in that state, and he was made general of the Confederate forces.

Provost-Marshal McKinstry thereupon issued a proclamation calling upon all good citizens to obey the rules it had been deemed necessary to establish, in order to insure and preserve the public peace, accompanied with the assurance that the civil law would remain in force, and the military authority only be used when civil law proved inadequate to maintain the public safety. All persons were forbid bearing arms, and no arms were allowed to be sold or given away from that date.

On the 15th of August Provost-Marshal McKinstry suppressed the publication of the *War Bulletin* and the *Missourian*, two newspapers which had exhibited marked secession sympathies.

On the 20th of August, the Confederate general, Price, at Springfield, issued another proclamation, stating that the army under his command had been organized under state laws, and that it had gained a glorious victory over the invaders. He invited all good citizens to return to their homes, promising them protection, and added :

“I, at the same time, warn all evil-disposed persons who may support the usurpations of any one claiming to be provisional or temporary governor of Missouri, or who shall in any other way give aid or comfort to the enemy, that they will be held as enemies and treated accordingly.”

On the 25th of August, H. R. Gamble, the provisional governor, issued a proclamation calling out 42,000 troops for six months, unless peace in the state was sooner restored, and stating that it might become necessary to resort to a draft if there should be a deficiency.

Meantime, the Confederates had steadily pushed forward their advanced corps. They occupied Warsaw and Lime Creek, and advanced on the 29th of August to Lexington, which they surrounded and attempted to capture, but were repulsed with a loss of eight killed and twenty wounded, and left the vicinity. The Federals still held Iron-ton, Rolla, and Cape Girardeau, and on the 19th of August five hundred men were sent from the latter

place to retake Commerce, forty miles below Cairo, Ill. The possession of this by the Confederates suspended river communication with Cairo. The Confederates made no stand. General Pillow\* occupied New Madrid with 22,000 Confederates, employed in improving the roads to Charleston. General Hardee† occupied Greenville with 8,000, and General Thompson, Pikeston, with 7,000. On the other hand, General Prentiss commanded the Union forces extending from Ironton to Cairo, and was operating in the direction of Hardee; and Grant was still at Jefferson City. On the 19th of August an engagement took place at Charleston between the national forces, about two hundred and fifty strong, consisting of the twenty-second Illinois regiment, under command of Colonel Dougherty, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Ransom, of the eleventh Illinois regiment, and the Confederate force, estimated at six to seven hundred, and commanded by Colonel Hunter, of Jeff. Thompson's army. The national force was victorious, completely routing the enemy, killing forty and taking seventeen prisoners. The national loss was

\* Gideon J. Pillow was born in Williamson county, Tenn., in 1806. He commenced his military career in 1846, when he was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers. He was made major-general in the army, April 13th, 1847, and during a campaign in Mexico commanded a division under General Scott. He was wounded at Chapultepec. In July, 1848, his troops were disbanded. He became a general in the Confederate forces, and was in command at Columbus, and subsequently at Fort Donelson, and Island No. Ten.

† William J. Hardee is a native of Georgia. He entered the military academy at West Point in 1834, and in 1838 was commissioned as second-lieutenant of dragoons. In April, 1839, he was appointed assistant commissary of subsistence, and in December of the same year was promoted to a first-lieutenancy. During the Mexican war he was brevetted major for gallantry at Medelin, near Vera Cruz, and on the 20th of August, 1847, was made lieutenant-colonel for services at St. Augustine. In 1853 he was employed by the war department to superintend the publishing of "Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics." In 1856 he was appointed commander of the corps of cadets, and instructor of cavalry, artillery, and infantry tactics. At the commencement of the war he offered his services to the Confederates, was made a brigadier-general by them, and sent to Missouri to co-operate with Generals Price and Rains.

one killed and eight wounded, among whom was Colonel Dougherty, slightly. Captain Noleman, with fifty mounted men, left Bird's Point at about six o'clock, August 20th, for Charleston, to join the forces under Colonel Dougherty, but failed to form a junction with them. They met a party of Confederates, about one hundred strong, and gave them battle, killing two and taking thirty-three prisoners, also capturing thirty-five horses, without the loss of a man.

The troops were collecting in considerable numbers in St. Louis at the close of August, and the necessary contracts for all descriptions of army supplies gave a stimulus to business, which was also increased by the construction of fortifications around St. Louis; palisades, block-houses, and earthworks were constructed on the west and south side to place the city in such a condition of defence, that a small force could hold it, and the greater part of the troops be spared for other operations in the state. On the 16th of August, a train on the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad was fired into near Palmyra, and some soldiers killed. In consequence, General Pope sent Brigadier-General Hurlbut into the county with orders to levy contributions to the extent of \$15,000. Guerilla parties scoured the country west of Jefferson City, and a train with two hundred and fifty United States soldiers was fired into near that city, with loss of life.

The boldness of the Confederate forces, and the number of recruits they were obtaining for guerilla and army service in the western part of the state, evidently required severe measures of repression. During the month of August a considerable number of volunteers had arrived at St. Louis, and as fast as they could be armed and drilled for service, they were employed either in garrison duty at St. Louis, or, if they were sufficiently disciplined for service, in protecting the line of the Missouri river and the northern part of the state, which was threatened by marauding bands of secessionists. Notwithstanding the

extraordinary efforts made by the commanding general to procure arms, there was yet less than half a supply for the force already collected.

Believing that the proclamation of martial law against those concerned in promoting the rebellion, the confiscation of their property, and the freeing of their slaves, would be the most effectual blow he could then strike at secessionism in the state, since it would compel the secessionists to desist from their forays upon the property of Union men, in order to preserve their own, General Fremont issued on the thirty-first of August the following proclamation :

“HEADQUARTERS OF THE WESTERN DEPARTMENT,  
“*St. Louis, August 31st, 1861.*

“Circumstances, in my judgment, of sufficient urgency, render it necessary that the commanding general of this department should assume the administrative powers of the state. Its disorganized condition, the helplessness of the civil authority, the total insecurity of life, and the devastation of property by bands of murderers and marauders, who infest nearly every county of the state, and avail themselves of the public misfortunes and the vicinity of a hostile force to gratify private and neighborhood vengeance, and who find an enemy wherever they find plunder, finally demand the severest measures to repress the daily increasing crimes and outrages which are driving off the inhabitants and ruining the state.

“In this condition the public safety and the success of our arms require unity of purpose, without let or hindrance, to the prompt administration of affairs.

“In order, therefore, to suppress disorder, to maintain as far as now practicable the public peace, and to give security and protection to the persons and property of loyal citizens, I do hereby extend and declare established martial law throughout the state of Missouri.

“The lines of the army of occupation in the state are for the present declared to extend from Leavenworth, by way of the posts of Jefferson City, Rolla, and Ironton, to Cape Girardeau on the Mississippi river.

“All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands, within these lines, shall be tried by court-martial, and if found guilty, will be shot.

“The property, real and personal, of all persons in the state of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men.

“All persons who shall be proven to have destroyed, after the publication of this order, railroad tracks, bridges, or telegraphs, shall suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

"All persons engaged in treasonable correspondence, in giving or procuring aid to the enemies of the United States, in fomenting tumults, in disturbing the public tranquillity by creating and circulating false reports or incendiary documents, are in their own interests warned that they are exposing themselves to sudden and severe punishment.

"All persons who have been led away from their allegiance are required to return to their homes forthwith: any such absence without sufficient cause, will be held to be presumptive evidence against them.

"The object of this declaration is to place in the hands of the military authorities the power to give instantaneous effect to existing laws, and to supply such deficiencies as the conditions of war demand. But it is not intended to suspend the ordinary tribunals of the country, where the law will be administered by the civil officers in the usual manner, and with their customary authority, while the same can be peaceably exercised.

"The commanding general will labor vigilantly for the public welfare, and in his efforts for their safety hopes to obtain not only the acquiescence but the active support of the loyal people of the country.

"J. C. FREMONT, *Major-General commanding.*"

On the day previous to the publication of this proclamation, but with direct reference to it, General Fremont had issued a special military order to the soldiers of the department, in which he rebuked the laxity and irregularities in discipline which had grown up with the progress of enlistment, and, referring to his forthcoming proclamation, reminded them that the exercise of martial law over the people would require the enforcement of strict discipline among themselves, lest they should inflict the severities of that law on those who did not merit its penalties. He also enjoined all officers to use the utmost prudence and circumspection in the discharge of their duties, to protect and avoid harassing innocent persons, &c.

The promulgation of this proclamation produced great excitement throughout the country, though much more in other states than in Missouri, where but slight objection was made to it, even by those who were personally hostile to the general. It was an advance in the direction of emancipation upon the confiscation act, approved by the President on the 6th of August previous, inasmuch as that act provided only for the forfeiture and emanci-



pation of the slaves of rebels, when such slaves had been actually employed in hostile service of any kind against the government of the United States. The President, therefore, addressed a letter to General Fremont, requesting him to modify the proclamation so as to make it correspond with the confiscation act, to which the general replied expressing his preference that the President should himself make the modification. Accordingly, on the 11th of September, a letter from Mr. Lincoln to Major-General Fremont was published, in which, after stating the above facts, he concludes as follows :

“ It is therefore ordered that the said clause of said proclamation [the clause in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves] be so modified, held, and construed, as to conform with, and not to transcend, the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of Congress, entitled ‘ An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes,’ approved August 6th, 1861 ; and that the said act be published at length with this order.”

Previous to the reception of this order, General Fremont had granted deeds of manumission to two slaves of Thomas L. Snead, an active and prominent rebel of St. Louis.

An unfortunate incident, having no connection with this proclamation, occurred at this juncture to increase the hostile feeling toward General Fremont. Montgomery Blair, postmaster-general of the United States, and his brother, the Hon. Francis P. Blair, jr., a member of Congress from St. Louis, had been friends of the general, and had requested from the President his assignment to the western department, and Francis P. Blair, jr., had taken command of a volunteer regiment raised in St. Louis. Disapproving, however, of his commander's management, Colonel Blair wrote to his brother on the 1st of September (after the promulgation of the order above cited) complaining of want of discipline in the army which General Fremont was collecting, and closed his letter thus :

“ My decided opinion is that he should be relieved of his command,

and a man of ability put in his place. The sooner it is done the better."

On hearing of this letter, General Fremont, in accordance with the articles of war, caused the arrest of Colonel Blair, and asked from the President a copy of the letter. The postmaster-general replied, forwarding a copy of the letter, and requesting his brother's release from arrest. General Fremont complied with his request, releasing Colonel Blair, and directing him to resume the command of his regiment. This he refused to do, but early in October addressed a series of charges against the general to Adjutant-General Thomas. Among the specifications of these charges were, that General Fremont had failed to repair promptly to St. Louis and enter upon his duties; that he had neglected to reinforce Lyon and Mulligan; that he suffered Brigadier-General Hurlburt, "a common drunkard," to continue in command; that he refused to see people who sought his presence on matters of urgent business; that he had violated the President's orders in the matter of his 31st of August proclamation; that he had made efforts to procure commendation from his officers; that he persisted in keeping disreputable persons in his employ; and that he had unjustly suppressed the St. Louis *Evening News*. Other parties, about the same time, made complaints through the public prints of his extravagance in his purchases, of his unnecessarily fortifying St. Louis, of his having given contracts to California speculators, and of his wasting the public money in the construction of several gunboats.

No trial was had on these charges, although they were the subject of two special *ex parte* investigations; and it may be remarked that subsequent developments, the course of his successor, General Halleck, and his own appointment to another important independent command, appear to have exonerated him at least from those which were most insisted upon.

We will now proceed with the narrative of events. The

Federal garrison of Lexington, which on the 29th of August had repulsed nearly ten times its number of Confederate troops, consisted of only four hundred and thirty men. There was reason to suppose that General Price intended to attack the place so soon as his forces, which were collecting at Springfield in the south-west of the state, should become sufficiently large to enable him to do so. Accordingly, on the 1st of September, General Fremont ordered Colonel Mulligan, then at Jefferson City, in command of the Irish brigade, to reinforce the garrison at Lexington, which, though intrenched, needed a larger body of troops. Colonel Mulligan arrived at the town on the 9th of September. It lies on the south side of the Missouri river (which here flows from west to east), one hundred and twenty miles west of Jefferson City, and contained at that time not far from five thousand inhabitants. It is situated on a high rocky bluff, which slopes almost precipitously directly down to the bed of the river, making a very steep ascent from the landing up into the city. Old Lexington was the early settlement, situated back on the hill. It has been superseded by New Lexington, farther up the river, where the steamboat landing now is, and which is the principal village. There are scattering houses along the bluff between the two, and both are now united under the name of Lexington. From the rear of the city the land recedes slightly in alternate successions of beautiful prairie and choice timber, and is well occupied by finely-cultivated farms, yielding a rich support to this hitherto thriving place. Lexington has had an active trade with the caravans of Santa Fé and the Great Salt Lake. The great emigration to California which has passed through the county for several years past, has furnished a market for grain, cattle, and horses, at high prices. There are extensive beds of coal on the river banks.

The reinforcements brought by Colonel Mulligan raised the whole strength of the garrison to about 3,500 men, including several hundred home guards. His artillery con-

sisted of five brass pieces and two mortars, but the mortars were valueless, as he had no shells. He at once commenced increasing and strengthening the fortifications, which were placed between the old and new towns, and consisted of earthworks ten feet in height, with a ditch eight feet in width. Within these fortifications was a solid brick building, erected for a college, which was used as quarters for the Union soldiers, and had been strengthened to resist an artillery attack. The lines of the fortifications were extensive, and were capable of containing a force of ten thousand men.

On the 7th of September a detachment of the Federal troops had gone from Lexington to Warrensburg, twenty miles distant, and taken a quantity of coin from the bank there, but had been pursued by the Confederate forces under General Price, who was in the vicinity of Warrensburg. They reached Lexington on the 11th, and on the 12th their pickets were driven in by skirmishers from the advance guard of the Confederates, under command of General Rains, who attacked them with nine pieces of artillery, but was repulsed. Skirmishes occurred every day after this, and meantime the Confederate force was constantly increasing. Colonel Mulligan dispatched messengers to Jefferson City for reinforcements, but they were captured. General Fremont had, however, learned of his critical position, and made efforts to relieve him, but unsuccessfully. The Confederates had surrounded the town, and their force was so large that they could repel the forces sent to the relief of the beleaguered town. Fifteen hundred Iowa troops, who had arrived within sixteen miles of the river, were met by a greatly superior force and compelled to retire. Major Sturgis, with 4,000 more, reached the north bank of the river a few miles below, but the Confederates had destroyed or captured all the ferry-boats for miles above and below, and they could not cross in time. General Lane, from the south-west, near the Kansas line, and Colonel Davis, from the south-east, near the

Mississippi river, had both been sent forward, and their united forces amounted to 11,000 men; but they could not reach the scene of action till it was too late.

Affairs, meantime, were getting desperate with the besieged. On the 17th the water gave out, and the Confederates had cut them off from the river, while their shells, falling into the intrenchments, where their cattle, horses, and mules were picketed, and their train was placed, produced great havoc. Rations also began to grow short, and the home guard were becoming discouraged and mutinous. On the 18th General Price sent a summons to Colonel Mulligan to surrender, to which that gallant commander replied: "If you want us, you must take us." The sufferings of the Federal troops for water were very severe. A shower of rain falling, they spread out their blankets, and, absorbing what they could of it, wrung it out and drank it. The moon through the nights shone brightly, and the firing night and day was incessant. On Friday, the 21st, Major Becker, of the home guards, without authority, hoisted a white flag. Colonel Mulligan instantly ordered it taken down, and a charge was made immediately afterward upon the enemy's nearest battery, in which the fighting on both sides was very severe. It was evident, however, to the gallant colonel, that his little force could not hold out longer, and he sent out a flag of truce for a parley on the afternoon of the 21st September. The only terms General Price would grant were unconditional surrender, the officers to be retained as prisoners of war, the men to be allowed to depart with their personal property, surrendering their arms and accoutrements.

Reluctantly this was acceded to, and the surrender took place. At four P. M. on Saturday the Federal forces, having laid down their arms, were marched out of the intrenchments to the tune of "Dixie," played by the rebel bands. They left behind them their arms and accoutrements, reserving only their clothing. The prisoners were first made to take the oath not to serve against the Con-

federate States, when they were sent across the river, and, in charge of General Rains, marched to Richmond, sixteen miles; from there they were marched to Harville and released.

The Confederate General Price, in his official report, stated the results as follows :

"Our entire loss in this series of engagements amounts to twenty-five killed and seventy-two wounded. The enemy's loss was much greater. The visible fruits of this almost bloodless victory are great. About 3,500 prisoners, among whom are Colonels Mulligan, Marshall, Peabody, and Whitigrover, Major Van Horn and one hundred and eighteen other commissioned officers, five pieces of artillery, and two mortars, over 33,000 stand of infantry arms, a large number of sabres, about seven hundred and fifty horses, many sets of cavalry equipments, wagons, teams, ammunition, more than one hundred thousand dollars' worth of commissary stores, and a large amount of other property. In addition to all this I obtained the restoration of the great seal of the state and the public records, which had been stolen from their proper custodian, and about nine hundred thousand dollars in money, of which the bank at this place had been robbed, and which I have caused to be returned to it."

The force of Colonel Mulligan had been weakened by the desertion of many of the home guard, and at the time of his surrender the number of officers and men was actually only 2,640. The Confederate force was about 21,500. The loss of men sustained on the Federal side in the course of the siege was forty-two killed and one hundred and eight wounded.

General Fremont learned of the surrender on the 23d, and immediately forwarded to Washington the following dispatch :

"HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEPARTMENT,  
"St. Louis, September 23d, 1861.

"Colonel E. D. TOWNSEND, *Adjutant-General* :

I have a dispatch from Brookfield that Lexington has fallen into Price's hands, he having cut off Mulligan's supply of water. Reinforcements, four thousand strong, under Sturgis, by the capture of ferry-boats, had no means of crossing the river in time. Lane's force, from the south-west, and Davis's, from the south-east, upwards of eleven thousand in all, could also not get there in time. I am taking the field myself, and hope to destroy the enemy either before or after the junction of the forces under McCulloch. Please notify the President immediately.

"J. C. FREMONT,  
"Major-General commanding."

There was considerable excitement throughout the country at the intelligence of Colonel Mulligan's surrender, and there were not wanting those who bestowed severe censure upon General Fremont for not reinforcing him; but when the circumstances were fully understood, it appeared that these censures were unjust. Colonel Mulligan himself declared that General Fremont was not in fault. The troops he had ordered to Lexington to aid the besieged were more than three-fourths of his entire available force at this time.

On September 10th, Colonel N. G. Williams, of the third Iowa regiment, with eleven hundred Federal troops, Kansans and the Iowa third, was attacked at Shelby, Mo., by Martin Green, with fifteen hundred to two thousand men. Green commenced firing on them with two pieces of artillery, and kept up fire about one and a half hours. One man (Federal) had his foot taken off by a cannon-ball. Colonel Williams retreated on two trains west to Hudson, Mo., leaving a number of horses and part of his camp utensils in the hands of the rebels. Colonel Williams had no artillery. General Hurlburt got as far as Hudson, Mo., from Brookfield, with two hundred and fifty men, to reinforce Williams. When he arrived there, Williams was at Clarence, on his retreat. The Confederates, two thousand strong, under Martin Green, remained between Hunnewell and Shelby, with their two pieces of artillery. They had torn up the railroad track and cut down the telegraph poles. General Hurlburt advanced to Shelby with fifteen hundred Union troops. On the 11th General Pope was at Hunnewell with eight hundred men. Knowing that Green was encamped in the neighborhood of Florida, he determined to make a night march and surprise him; but hearing that the latter had three thousand five hundred men, he sent an engine at noon to Shelby, eight miles west, with orders to General Hurlburt to send down immediately five hundred men to reinforce him; his force being too small to attack such superior numbers.



In consequence of gross mismanagement, General Hurlburt's troops, which should have reached Hunnewell at three o'clock, did not arrive until eleven P. M., when it was too late to start on the expedition that night. Another attack was planned for the next night, however, and General Pope marched his fourteen hundred men twenty-four miles over an almost roadless country, and reached Green's camp early on Monday morning, only to find it deserted, Green having been apprised of General Pope's design and fled. His men being mounted, they could not be overtaken by infantry, and General Pope had no cavalry.

In addition to putting General Hurlburt and Colonel Williams under arrest for drunkenness, General Pope ordered the arrest of Lieutenant-Colonel Blair, of the second Kansas regiment, for mutinous conduct at Shelby, in threatening to withdraw his command if Colonel Williams persisted in fighting when attacked at that place by Martin Green.

Pursuant to his telegraphic dispatch to the government, under date of September 23d, General Fremont, on the 27th of September, left St. Louis for Jefferson City, and soon concentrated there twenty thousand men, preparatory to an advance on Lexington. General Price at Lexington, had meantime been preparing for an offensive movement. His effective force was about twenty thousand. September 28th he crossed over the river at Lexington, with four thousand mounted men. This force took up its line of march for the railroad, with the view of its total destruction, and then sad havoc was to have been made with all the government forces in north-west Missouri. But intelligence received from some of his spies at St. Louis and Jefferson City, led him to change his plans; Fremont was approaching, and might cut him off from his base in southwestern Missouri. He therefore countermanded his order for sending troops to the railroad, and a messenger was immediately dispatched after those already started, and they recrossed the river on Sunday morning. That night

Price issued orders for a movement south. In the meantime General Sturgis, who had been holding St. Joseph's, came down from the north in time to shell the rear guard of Price from across the river as they left Lexington; and General Hunter approached with his troops from Rolla. Price and all his force left on the 30th in the direction of Papinsville, but returned to Greenfield, on the road to Springfield. General Fremont, who had followed westward as far as Warsaw, crossed the river there after a short delay to bridge the Osage river, and moved toward Springfield by forced marches. General Sigel, leaving Bolivar, also pushed for Springfield. On the 25th of October a rear guard of two thousand Confederates, who held Springfield, was charged by one hundred and fifty of the body-guard of General Fremont, under Major Zagonyi, routing them with a loss of ninety killed and wounded, but losing fifteen killed, twenty-seven wounded, and ten missing. On the 27th, General Fremont occupied Springfield, but his troops had suffered terribly by the march. Meanwhile Lexington had been reoccupied by Major Milne. While Price had been retreating, McCulloch was advancing from the south, and these two formed a junction with which they again menaced Springfield. Meanwhile the Union force under General Wyman had reached Lime Creek; his advance guard under Major Wright captured a company of Confederates October 15th, under Captain Roberts, whom they completely surprised. Two skirmishes followed, and the march from Rolla to Lime Creek was marked by three successful fights, in which sixty-eight Confederates were killed and about the same number wounded; eighty-seven prisoners were taken, and one hundred and twenty-three guns, fifteen horses, several yoke of oxen, wagons, and many other articles were also captured.

The charges against General Fremont had led the Secretary of War, Hon. Simon Cameron, to visit Missouri in person, taking with him Adjutant-General Thomas. They made a rapid visit to St. Louis and to the camp of the

general at Tipton, and on their return to St. Louis transmitted to General Fremont the following order:

"ST. LOUIS, Mo., *October 14th*, 1861.

"GENERAL—The secretary of war directs me to communicate the following as his instructions for your government:

"In view of the heavy sums due, especially in the quartermaster's department in this city, amounting to some \$4,500,000, it is important that the money which may now be in the hands of the disbursing officers, or be received by them, be applied to the current expenses of your army in Missouri, and these debts to remain unpaid until they can be properly examined and sent to Washington for settlement; the disbursing officers of the army to disburse the funds, and not transfer them to irresponsible agents—in other words, those who do not hold commissions from the President, and are not under bonds. All contracts necessary to be made, to be made by the disbursing officers. The senior quartermaster here has been verbally instructed by the secretary as above.

"It is deemed unnecessary to erect field-works around this city, and you will direct their discontinuance; also those, if any, in course of construction at Jefferson City. In this connection it is seen that a number of commissions have been given by you. No payments will be made to such officers, except to those whose appointments have been approved by the President. This, of course, does not apply to the officers with volunteer troops. Colonel Andrews has been verbally so instructed by the secretary; also not to make transfers of funds except for the purpose of paying the troops.

"The erection of barracks near your quarters in this city to be at once discontinued.

"The secretary has been informed that the troops of General Lane's command are committing depredations on our friends in Western Missouri. Your attention is directed to this, in the expectation that you will apply the corrective.

"Major Allen desires the services of Captain Turnley for a short time, and the secretary hopes you may find it proper to accede thereto. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"L. THOMAS, *Adjutant-General*.

"Major-General J. C. FREMONT,

*Commanding department of the West, Tipton, Mo.*"

This order indicated that his removal was intended, but he still pushed on after the enemy, resolved, if possible, to achieve a victory before laying down his command. On the 2d of November, however, he received at Springfield an order to transfer his command to Major-General Hunter, with which he promptly complied, and after issuing a farewell order taking leave of his troops, he left for St. Louis, his staff and body-guard accompanying him.

On the day previous to his removal, he had entered into an agreement with the Confederate General Price, by which both parties bound themselves to break up the practice of arrests for the mere entertainment or expression of political opinions, and to protect peaceable citizens in their houses. This agreement General Hunter repudiated on the 7th of November. The Federal force in Missouri at that time was estimated at 27,000 men, of whom 5,000 were under the immediate command of General Hunter, 4,000 under General Sigel, 4,500 under General Asboth, 5,500 under General McKinstry, 4,000 under General Pope, 2,500 under General Lane, and 1,500 under General Sturgis. It was stated that General Price was at Cassville with twenty-five thousand men, and McCulloch with ten thousand more advancing with the intention of offering battle at Wilson's Creek, the scene of their former victory. The Union army was concentrating. Generals Lane, Sturgis, Pope, and McKinstry reached Springfield November 2d, and General Asboth, who accompanied General Fremont to St. Louis, left his division in charge of General Carr.

## CHAPTER XII.

Kentucky Neutral.—Address to the People.—Ex-Governor Morehead.—Vote of the State.—Nashville Railroad.—Seizure of Trains.—Its Effect.—Federal Troops.—President Lincoln.—Meeting of Legislature.—Jefferson Davis.—Composition of Legislature.—Message of Governor.—Confederate Troops.—General Polk.—General Grant.—Tennessee Commissioners.—Emancipation Proclamation.—Resolutions in the Legislature.—General Anderson.—Kentucky for the Union.—Governor's Proclamation.—General Anderson's Proclamation.—General Crittenden.—J. C. Breckinridge.—Defence of the State.—Zollicoffer.—General Buckner.—Barbourville.—General Schoepf.—Wildcat.—Troops under Schoepf.—Bowling Green.—Buckner's Proclamation.—Anderson resigned.—General Sumner.—General Buell appointed.—Breckinridge's Proclamation.—His Command.—General Nelson.—Prestonburg.—Piketon.—Munfordsville.—Illinois troops.—Cairo.—Bird's Point.—New Madrid.—Columbus, its Position and Strength.—Paducah, its Strength and Importance.—Number of Confederates.—Union Troops.—The Kentucky Troops.—Battles in Kentucky.—Mill Spring.—Defeat and Death of Zollicoffer.—Prestonburg.—Defeat of H. Marshall.—Position of Forces.—The Tennessee River.—The Cumberland.—Gunboats.—Their Construction.—Commodore A. H. Foote.—Expedition.—Army.—Departure for Fort Henry.—Its Capture.—Bowling Green.—Evacuated.—Fort Donelson.—Attack.—Surrender.—Escape of Pillow and Floyd.—Position of the Enemy.—Fall of Clarksville.—Nashville taken.—Columbus evacuated.—Sixty Days of the New Year.—Missouri.—General Halleck.

THE state of Kentucky had attempted to maintain its neutrality. The governor, Magoffin, had peremptorily refused to supply troops at the call of the President, when the fall of Sumter had aroused the North. In May an address had been issued to the people of Kentucky, in which, while advising that she should remain true to the constitution and the Union, and insist upon her constitutional rights in the Union, neutrality was defended in the following language :

"Your state, on a deliberate consideration of her responsibilities—moral, political and social—has determined that the proper course for

her to pursue is to take no part in the controversy between the government and the seceded states but that of *mediator* and *intercessor*. She is unwilling to take up arms against her brethren residing either north or south of the geographical line by which they are unhappily divided into warring sections. This course was commended to her by every consideration of patriotism, and by a proper regard for her own security. It does not result from timidity; on the contrary, it could only have been adopted by a brave people—so brave that the least imputation on their courage would be branded as false by their written and traditional history.

“Kentucky was right in taking this position—because, from the commencement of this deplorable controversy, her voice was for reconciliation, compromise and peace. She had no cause of complaint against the general government, and made none. The injuries she sustained in her property from a failure to execute laws passed for its protection, in consequence of illegal interference by wicked and deluded citizens of the free states, she considered as wholly insufficient to justify a dismemberment of the Union. That she regarded as no remedy for existing evils, but an aggravation of them all. She witnessed, it is true, with deep concern, the growth of a wild and frenzied fanaticism in one section, and a reckless and defiant spirit in another, both equally threatening destruction to the country, and tried earnestly to arrest them; but in vain. We will not stop to trace the causes of the unhappy condition in which we are now placed, or to criminate either of the sections to the dishonor of the other, but can say that we believed both to have been wrong, and, in their madness and folly, to have inaugurated a war that the Christian world looks upon with amazement and sorrow; and that liberty, Christianity, and civilization stand appalled at the horrors to which it will give rise.”

The address was signed as follows: J. J. Crittenden, *President*; James Guthrie, R. K. Williams, Archibald Dixon, F. M. Bristow, Joshua F. Bell, C. A. Wickliffe, G. W. Dunlap, C. S. Morehead,\* J. F. Robinson, John B. Huston, Robert Richardson.

Ex-Governor Morehead, who signed this document, was subsequently arrested and confined in Fort Lafayette on a charge of treason. On the 3d of June the election in the state resulted in 92,460 votes for the Union representa-

\* Mr. Morehead appended to the address the following explanation: “I have signed the foregoing address, because I approve of the policy therein indicated, of refusing to furnish troops to the general government to prosecute the civil war now going on, and the policy of neutrality, without considering myself committed to all that is said upon other matters.

“C. S. MOREHEAD”

tives, and 37,700 for state's rights candidates, only one of whom was chosen. This vote was indicative of public opinion in the state at that time. So restricted had the intercourse between the North and the South now become, that communication was to a great extent cut off, except by the Louisville and Nashville railroad. It had been long manifest that the blockade of the South could not be complete until the transit of supplies by this route was cut off. The doubtful position of Kentucky, however, made the interference with her internal trade a delicate matter. The road in question is 286 miles long; of these forty-seven miles were lying in the state of Tennessee. This portion of the road had cost \$2,025,000, of which Tennessee had paid \$1,160,500, and the remainder had been raised by the Kentucky owners of the road. On the 1st of July a Tennessee general, Anderson, ordered the company to keep more rolling-stock in Nashville. To this James Guthrie, president of the road, replied that he was not under the military orders of Tennessee. General Anderson consequently seized two trains going out of Nashville and one that came in, and then demanded a fair division of the rolling-stock. Mr. Guthrie, in response, implied assent, if he could have a guarantee against further interference. This brought out Governor Harris, as the real mover in the matter. Mr. Guthrie then said the road could not be so managed. Governor Harris then closed the road—a movement of great folly, since it stopped supplies, of which the South was much in need, coming from Louisville, and not only effected that completion of the blockade which the Federal government sought, but decided Kentucky in favor of the Union, by placing the Confederates clearly in the wrong. All further questions in relation to the blockade were thus disposed of. There were, indeed, other routes for supplies through Kentucky, but the closing of that road gave such a turn to affairs as to decide the whole question. A small encampment of Union troops, called "Camp Dick Robinson," was formed in Garrard county,



and it was complained of as an infringement of neutrality. It was stated, however, in reply, that the troops were assembled at the call of the Union men of Kentucky to defend it in case of invasion. Commissioners were sent to President Lincoln, August 28th, remonstrating against the force and demanding its removal from the state, in order that its peace might be preserved. The President refused to comply, stating that citizens had requested the troops to remain. A similar letter was sent to Jefferson Davis, in consequence of the invasion of Kentucky by a Tennessee force, and the fact that the Confederate Congress had, August 7th, passed an act authorizing the enlistment of troops in Kentucky. Davis replied, to the effect that neutrality, to be entitled to respect, must be strictly maintained toward both parties. The legislature of Kentucky met September 2d, and a large barbecue was held on the 5th. These events caused great alarm among Unionists, the more so that the state guard was invited to attend. They were about 15,000 strong, and under the control of the secessionists of the state. Their fears, however, proved to be groundless. The legislature stood—Senate, twenty-seven Union, eleven secession; House, seventy-six Union, twenty-four secession. The message of the governor asserted the right of Kentucky to a neutral position; that she had not approved of the sectional party in the free states, and was opposed to the secession of the Southern states; that the state had suffered outrages from both sides; that a Federal camp had been organized in the state without consulting the state authorities; that troops in Kentucky should be obtained under authority of its constitution only; and advised the passage of resolutions requesting the disbanding of the military bodies not under state authority. At the same time a body of Confederate troops, under General Leonidas Polk, entered the state September 4th, and intrenched themselves at Hickman and Columbus. Upon this occurrence Governor Magoffin received a dispatch from General Grant, of Cairo, stating

that Tennessee troops had entered Columbus. Governor Magoffin telegraphed to Governor Harris, protesting against this, to which Governor Harris replied, saying he would request President Davis to withdraw the troops at once. General Polk issued the following proclamation at Columbus, Kentucky, September 14th :

"The Federal government having, in defiance of the wishes of the people of Kentucky, disregarded their neutrality by establishing camp depots of armies, and by organizing military companies within her territory, and by constructing military works on the Missouri shore, immediately opposite and commanding Columbus, evidently intended to cover the landing of troops for the seizure of that town, it has become a military necessity, for the defence of the territory of the Confederate States, that the Confederates occupy Columbus in advance. The major-general commanding has, therefore, not felt himself at liberty to risk the loss of so important a position, but has decided to occupy it in pursuance of this decision. He has thrown sufficient force into the town, and ordered to fortify it. It is gratifying to know that the presence of his troops is acceptable to the people of Columbus, and on this occasion he assures them that every precaution shall be taken to insure their quiet, protection to their property, with personal and corporate rights."

In consequence of this movement of General Polk, General Grant, who had been in command of the Illinois troops at Cairo, left there on the 6th with two regiments of infantry, one company of light artillery and two gunboats, and took possession of Paducah, Kentucky. He found secession flags flying in different parts of the city in expectation of greeting the arrival of the Southern army, which was reported three thousand eight hundred strong, sixteen miles distant.

The loyal citizens tore down the secession flags on the arrival of our troops.

General Grant took possession of the telegraph office, railroad depot, and marine hospital. He found large quantities of complete rations and leather for the Southern army. He then issued the following proclamation :

"I have come among you, not as an enemy, but as your fellow-citizen. Not to maltreat or annoy you, but to respect and enforce the rights of all loyal citizens.

"An enemy in rebellion against our common government has taken possession of and planted his guns on the soil of Kentucky and fired upon you. Columbus and Hickman are in his hands. He is moving upon your city. I am here to defend you against this enemy, to assist the authority and sovereignty of your government.

"I have nothing to do with opinions, and shall deal only with armed rebellion and its aiders and abettors. You can pursue your usual avocations without fear. The strong arm of the government is here to protect its friends and punish its enemies.

"Whenever it is manifest that you are able to defend yourselves, and maintain the authority of the government, and protect the rights of loyal citizens, I shall withdraw the forces under my command.

"U. S. GRANT, *Brigadier-General commanding.*"

On the 9th four commissioners, appointed from the state of Tennessee to maintain friendly relations with Kentucky, made the following statement to the governor of Kentucky:

"The undersigned yesterday received a verbal message, through a messenger, from Governor Harris. The message was—that he (Governor Harris) had, by telegraph dispatch, requested General Polk to withdraw the Confederate troops from Kentucky, and that General Polk had declined to do so; that Governor Harris then telegraphed to Secretary Walker, at Richmond, requesting that General Polk be ordered to withdraw his troops from Kentucky, and that such order was issued from the war department of the Confederacy; that General Polk replied to the war department that the retention of the post was a military necessity, and that the retiring from it would be attended by the loss of many lives."

On the same day a dispatch from General Polk to Governor Magoffin was laid before the legislature, the substance of which was, that he had occupied Columbus and Hickman, on account of reliable information that the Federal forces were about to occupy said points; that he considered the safety of western Tennessee and of the Confederate army in the vicinity of Hickman and Columbus demanded their occupation by the Confederate forces; and that, as a corroboration of said information, the Federal troops had been drawn up in line on the river opposite to Columbus prior to its occupation by the Confederate forces, causing many of the citizens of Columbus to flee from their homes for fear of the entrance of the Federal troops. General Polk proposed substantially, that the Federal and Confederate forces should be simultaneously

withdrawn from Kentucky, and enter into recognizances and stipulations to respect the neutrality of that state.

It was so evident that the purpose of this proposal was to place Kentucky in a condition favorable to her being dragged into secession, that the loyal legislature had no hesitation in regard to the course to be pursued.

On the 11th of September the House of Representatives adopted a resolution directing the governor to issue a proclamation ordering the Confederate troops, encamped in the state, to evacuate the soil of Kentucky. The vote on the passage of the resolution stood seventy-one in favor to twenty-six against.

The house then refused to suspend the rules, in order to allow the introduction of a resolution directing the governor to issue a proclamation ordering both the Federal and Confederate troops to evacuate the state. The governor vetoed the resolutions passed. Both houses, however, immediately passed them over his veto.

General Robert Anderson, the hero of Fort Sumter, was now in Frankfort. Meantime General Felix Zollicoffer, of Tennessee, had, with a large body of troops, marched through Cumberland Gap into Kentucky. He telegraphed to Governor Magoffin that the safety of Tennessee demanded the occupation of Cumberland and the three long mountains in Kentucky, and that he should hold them until the Union forces were withdrawn. This was laid before the legislature.

The following resolutions then passed both houses of the legislature :

*"Resolved*, That Kentucky's peace and neutrality have been wantonly violated, her soil has been invaded, the rights of her citizens have been grossly infringed by the so-called Southern Confederate forces. This has been done without cause; therefore,

*"Be it resolved* by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That the governor be requested to call out the military force of the state to expel and drive out the invaders.

*"Resolved*, That the United States be invoked to give that aid and assistance, that protection against invasion which is granted to each one of the states by the 4th section of the 4th article of the constitution of the United States.

*"Resolved*, That General Robert Anderson be, and he is hereby, requested to enter immediately upon the active discharge of his duties in this military district.

*"Resolved*, That we appeal to the people of Kentucky by the ties of patriotism and honor, by the ties of common interest and common defence, by the remembrances of the past, and by the hopes of future national existence, to assist in repelling and driving out the wanton violators of our peace and neutrality, the lawless invaders of our soil."

The house also passed resolutions that the invaders must be expelled, and that Governor Magoffin must call out a sufficient force to do it; also opposing the confiscation of property and emancipation of negroes, and placing the troops under the immediate command of Brigadier-General Crittenden, of the state guard.

The decision expressed by these resolutions was hailed with great satisfaction by the friends of Union. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this act on the part of that great state. Whether viewed in its relation to the material or moral aspects of the civil strife in the land, the active adhesion of Kentucky to the Union cause was a momentous event. But it was specially valuable for the testimony it bore to the rightfulness and the necessity of the belligerent issue which the national government had been compelled to accept. Colonel Thomas L. Crittenden, of the sixth Indiana, was the first to bring a regiment in aid of the state, and Governor Magoffin issued his proclamation, ordering him to execute the purposes contemplated by the recent resolutions of the Kentucky legislature in reference to the expulsion of the invaders. General Crittenden ordered the military to muster forthwith into service. Hamilton Pope, Brigadier-General of the home guard, also called on the people of each ward in Louisville to meet in the evening, and organize into companies for the protection of the city.

General Robert Anderson assumed command of the state and national forces, and issued the following proclamation, September 21st :

"KENTUCKIANS:—Called by the legislature of this my native state,

I hereby assume command of this department. I come to enforce, not to make laws, and, God willing, to protect your property and lives. The enemies of the country have dared to invade our soil. Kentucky is in danger. She has vainly striven to keep peace with her neighbors. Our state is now invaded by those who professed to be her friends, but who now seek to conquer her. No true son of Kentucky can longer hesitate as to his duty to his state and country. The invaders must, and, God willing, will be expelled. The leader of the hostile forces [General Buckner] who now approaches is, I regret to say, a Kentuckian, making war on Kentucky and Kentuckians. Let all past differences of opinion be overlooked. Every one who now rallies to the support of our Union and our state is a friend. Rally, then, my countrymen, around the flag our fathers loved, and which has shielded us so long. I call you to arms for self-defence and for the protection of all that is dear to freemen. Let us trust in God, and do our duty as did our fathers.

"ROBERT ANDERSON,  
"Brigadier-General, U. S. A."

Brigadier-General Crittenden also issued a proclamation calling for troops, the state guard to rendezvous at Louisville. Immediately upon the appearance of these documents, General A. S. Johnston, general and commander of the western department of the army of the Confederate States, headquarters at Memphis, issued a proclamation to the effect that his troops were present to aid the people of Kentucky in maintaining their neutrality by helping them to drive out the Federal invaders. Thus was Kentucky launched into the contest for the maintenance of the government and the preservation of the Union. On the 23d of September a bill was passed authorizing a loan of one million dollars, for the defence of the state, in addition to a like sum authorized May 24th, in state bonds, payable in ten years, and levying a tax to pay the bonds and interest. A bill calling out forty thousand volunteers was also passed—sixty-seven to thirteen in the House, twenty-one to five in the Senate—to serve one to three years. A bill also enacted that Kentuckians voluntarily taking service with the Confederate States should be incapable of acquiring real estate in Kentucky unless they returned to their allegiance within sixty days. Thanks were returned to Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, for forwarding troops to the state's aid. On the 1st of October a reso-



lution was passed—twenty to five in the Senate, fifty-five to thirty-one in the House—requesting John C. Breckinridge and L. W. Powell to resign their seats as senators in Congress; and if they did not comply, Congress was requested to investigate their conduct, and if found to be in opposition to the government, to expel them from their seats. The banks of Kentucky promised to furnish their quota of the two loans of a million of dollars each, which had been authorized in May and September. Under these laws the state was brought fully into the field, with arms and money, for the cause of the Union. The legislature then adjourned until November 27th, having issued an address to the people of the state, in which it was declared that the neutral attitude of Kentucky had been admitted by the United States, but violated by the Confederates, leaving the state no choice but to exert its authority and drive out the invaders. In the mean time the Confederates continued to pour across the border, and they concentrated, to the extent of thirteen regiments of infantry, six field batteries, three battalions of cavalry, and three steamboats on the river, at Columbus under Generals Polk and Pillow, and at Cumberland Gap under General Zollicoffer. General Buckner, formerly commander of the state forces, to whose treachery the legislature charged the demoralization of the state troops, appeared within twenty-five miles of Louisville. He had advanced under assurances of large reinforcements, but these were not forthcoming, and he fell back upon Bowling Green.

The different recruiting stations and points occupied by the Confederates for offensive operations in Kentucky, at the beginning of October, were supposed to contain forces numbering as follows:

Hickman, under General Polk.....	10,000
Bowling Green, under General Buckner.....	7,000
Cumberland Gap, under General Zollicoffer.....	5,000
Owen county, under Humphrey Marshall.....	600
Warsaw.....	400
Near Hazel Green, under J. C. Breckinridge.....	800



Near West Point.....	300
Bloomfield.....	200

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Total rebel forces in Kentucky.....24,300

The Union forces near Louisville numbered twenty thousand. Considerable bodies of troops also continued to pour in from Ohio and Indiana, centring at Covington and other points. There had been numerous organizations under the name of home guards, in the state, for drill and elementary instruction. These embraced many troops who ultimately left the state, and the larger portion of them joined the Confederates, though some were incorporated with Federal troops.

The force under Zollicoffer had a slight skirmish at Barbourville, September 18th, with the home guards at that place. The Confederates had been scouring the country to Winchester, committing more or less depredations, and on October 1st retreated to Cumberland Ford, which they fortified. This is fifteen miles within the Kentucky line, and thus commanded Cumberland Gap in their rear, a point very essential to communication between Kentucky and Western Virginia. The advance guard held the salt-works, an important possession. A Federal force of Ohio and Indiana troops, with some Kentucky volunteers, under the command of General Schoepf, was advancing to hold the Confederates in check. On the 21st of October Colonel Coburn of the thirty-third Indiana, pursuant to orders, took four companies, D, E, I, and G, 350 men, with a portion of Colonel Woolford's Kentucky cavalry, and advanced to take possession of an eminence, half a mile to the east of Camp Wild Cat. This force was attacked by two regiments of Tennessee volunteers under Colonels Newman and Bowler. As they approached they shouted that they were Union men, and approached quite near the Union force before the falsehood was discovered, when they at once commenced firing. The Indiana troops, not relishing this cowardly trick, returned a well-directed and steady fire, and the Kentucky horse retired. During the engage-

ment Colonel Coburn was reinforced by four companies of the seventeenth Ohio, and later by the fourteenth Ohio; two successive attacks were made by Zollicoffer's troops, each time after receiving more men; but each attack failed, and they retired to Barbourville. The Federal loss was six killed and twenty wounded. The rebel loss was estimated at nearly three hundred.

General Schoepf's headquarters were at Somerset, thirty miles east of London, and his troops were as follows:

2d Ohio regiment.....	Colonel Len. A. Harris.
17th Ohio regiment.....	Colonel John M. Connell.
38th Ohio regiment.....	Colonel Ed. D. Bradley.
59th Ohio regiment.....	Colonel James P. Fyffe.
Kentucky Infantry.....	Colonel Wm. A. Hoskins.
Kentucky Infantry.....	Colonel Thomas J. Bramlette.
Kentucky Infantry.....	Colonel Henry Grider.
1st Kentucky Cavalry (portion) ..	Colonel Frank Woolford.
Captain Standard's Ohio battery.	

General Schoepf was assisted in the command by General Jesse T. Boyle. The troops numbered 7,000 men, or with the force at Camp Calvert, 10,000.

General George B. Crittenden commanded the Confederate troops in east Tennessee and east Kentucky, and was at Cumberland with a large force, threatening east Kentucky. There were a number of Union troops at London and Wild Cat, on the Lexington and Cumberland road.

General Buckner, on occupying Bowling Green, issued a proclamation to the people of Kentucky, dated September 18th. It charged the legislature with having been faithless to the will of the people, and that it was only after the state had, under the proclamation of President Lincoln, been occupied by United States troops, that the Confederates entered the state; and asserted that the Confederate troops, on the invitation of the citizens of Kentucky, entered the state to assume a defensive position only.

"We do not," said he, "come to molest any citizen, whatever may be his political opinions. Unlike the agents of the Northern despotism, who seek to reduce us to the condition of dependent vassals, we

believe that the recognition of the civil rights of citizens is the foundation of constitutional liberty, and that the claim of the President of the United States to declare martial law, to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and to convert every barrack and prison in the land into a bastille, is nothing but the claim which other tyrants have assumed to subjugate a free people. The Confederate States occupy Bowling Green as a defensive position."

The southern portion of Kentucky was now in complete possession of the Confederates. The reinforcements that Buckner expected on his advance to Louisville he did not get; but the news of the surrender of Mulligan at Lexington, Missouri, caused great numbers to rally around him, and all opposition to the Southern invaders seemed to be extinguished in southern Kentucky. Bowling Green was fortified and held, and Buckner sent troops from town to town expelling the refractory, receiving the submission of the weak and mercenary, and bringing the whole country under Confederate sway. On the 24th of September General Anderson issued the following order:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND,  
"LOUISVILLE, KY., *September 24th*, 1861.

"The commanding general, understanding that apprehension is entertained by citizens of this state who have hitherto been in opposition to the policy now adopted by the state, hereby gives notice that no Kentuckian shall be arrested who remains at home, attending to his business, and does not take part, either by action or speech, against the authority of the general or state government, or does not hold correspondence with, or give aid or assistance to, those who have chosen to array themselves against us as our enemies.

"ROBERT ANDERSON,  
"Brigadier-General U. S. A., *commanding*."

The health of General Anderson soon failed him, and he was compelled to relinquish his command on the 8th of October, which he did by the following order:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND,  
"LOUISVILLE, KY., *October 8th*, 1861.

"The following telegraphic order was received yesterday at these headquarters:—

'Brigadier-General ANDERSON:—

'To give you rest necessary to restoration of health, call Brigadier General Sherman to command the department of the Cumberland.

Turn over to him your instructions, and report here in person as soon as you may without retarding your recovery.

'WINFIELD SCOTT.'

'WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 6th, 1861.*'

"In obedience to the above order I hereby relinquish the command of this department to Brigadier-General Sherman. Regretting deeply the necessity which renders this step proper, I do it with less reluctance because my successor, Brigadier-General Sherman, is the man I had selected for that purpose. God grant that he may be the means of delivering this department from the marauding bands who, under the guise of relieving and befriending Kentucky, are doing all the injury they can to those who will not join them in their accursed warfare.

"ROBERT ANDERSON,

*"Brigadier-General U. S. A., commanding."*

Brigadier-General W. T. Sherman, of Ohio, who succeeded to the command, was himself disabled by ill health in a few weeks, and on the 8th of November General Don Carlos Buell\* was appointed in his place.

On the 8th of October, J. C. Breckinridge issued an address to the people of Kentucky, resigning his senatorship. He said:

"I exchange, with proud satisfaction, a term of six years in the United States Senate, for the musket of a soldier. . . . There is no longer a Senate of the United States within the meaning and spirit of the constitution—the United States no longer exists—the Union is dissolved."

Mr. Breckinridge was occupied at Prestonburg raising troops for the Confederate army.

\* Don Carlos Buell was born in Ohio in 1820, entered West Point in 1837, graduated in 1841, and was promoted to a first-lieutenancy in 1847. He received the brevet rank of captain for gallant conduct at Monterey in 1848, and that of major in the same year for his meritorious behavior at Contreras and Churubusco, where he was wounded. He served as adjutant in 1847 and 1848. In 1851 he relinquished his rank in the line, but subsequently resumed it, and at the commencement of the present war was major of infantry, attached to the department of the adjutant-general. In May, 1861, he was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers, and assigned to a command on the Potomac. He succeeded General W. T. Sherman in command of the department of the Ohio on the 8th of November, 1861, and was confirmed as major-general of volunteers in March, 1862. He took part in the second day's fight at the battle of Shiloh, and has since that time made his head-quarters near the Tennessee River, at Corinth, Florence, Huntsville, and elsewhere.

In eastern Tennessee the small Federal force was under the command of General Nelson, a lieutenant in the navy, who had been detached from his naval duties and sent to his native state, Kentucky. Being furnished with arms by the Federal government, he collected and organized a force in the eastern part of the state near Virginia. With these he occupied Prestonburg, November 2d, without any resistance from the enemy, who fell back about six miles, and General Nelson issued the following proclamation:

"HEADQUARTERS, CAMP AT PRESTONBURG,  
"November 5th, 1861.

"Having this day occupied the town of Prestonburg with the forces under my command, I declare to all whom it may concern: That the jurisdiction of the state of Kentucky is restored in this section of the state, and that the regular fall terms of the courts will be held in those counties in which the time for holding the same has not passed. All the civil officers are ordered to attend at the times and places of holding said courts, and attend to the duties of their respective offices.

"Given under my hand, this 5th day of November, 1861.

"W. NELSON.

"By command of Brigadier-General NELSON,  
"JNO. M. DUKE, *Aide-de-Camp*."

A Confederate force now occupied Piketon, the capital of Pike county, on the west fork of the Big Sandy river, under Colonel John S. Williams. They numbered 1010 men, but were expecting to be reinforced by artillery. They had in charge a large amount of public property. On the 8th of November General Nelson sent the second, twenty-first, and fifty-ninth Ohio regiments, with four companies of Colonel Marshall's Kentucky regiment, by way of John's creek, to turn the left of the Confederate position. On the 8th General Nelson went forward with three Ohio regiments, a battalion of Kentucky volunteers, and two sections of artillery, on the direct road to Piketon. When within eight miles of it, they met the enemy's picket of forty horse, which fled. The road, seven feet wide, is cut through a precipitous mountain covered with brush, and the river flows twenty-five feet below the road, which

descends rapidly to the gorge, where it turns suddenly, making an elbow. In this pass the enemy were posted 700 strong, reserving their fire until the head of the Kentucky battalion under Marshall was up to the bend. The fire killed four and wounded thirteen. The Kentuckians immediately charged, and Harris led his second Ohio up the mountain side. Colonel Norton led his twenty-first Ohio up the northern ridge and made an attack. In an hour the Confederates fled, leaving thirty dead on the field. The Federal loss was six killed and twenty-four wounded. This operation closed the campaign in eastern Kentucky.

On the 17th of December, four companies of the thirty-second Indiana, thrown out in advance of Munfordsville, on the Louisville and Nashville railroad, forty-two miles north of Bowling Green, encountered a party of Texan Rangers, who charged them, and were received with a sharp fire. The infantry were then ordered to rally upon an adjoining wood. In the act they were charged by the Texan horsemen, and a desperate hand to hand encounter ensued, the Indianians making use of their sword-bayonets. These soon gained the woods, and were reinforced by the thirty-sixth Indiana and the sixteenth Ohio, when the Texans fled, leaving sixty-three dead, including Colonel Terry, upon the field. The Federal loss was thirteen killed and as many wounded.

The main operations were in western Kentucky, where the leading combinations of the Northern and Southern troops were being organized with the view of opening and defending the navigation of the Mississippi.

The state of Illinois furnished a large portion of the men who fought in Missouri and Kentucky. The state has a population of about 1,700,000, and in September it had already sent into the field over 50,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, ten batteries of artillery, besides over 10,000 men in squads and companies, who had enlisted in other states. It had also furnished the following general officers to the army :

Major-General David Hunter.	Brigadier-General John A. McCler-
Brigadier-General John Pope.	nand.
Brigadier-General U. S. Grant.	Brigadier-General Benjamin M.
Brigadier-General Wm. A. Rich-	Prentiss.
ardson.	Brigadier-General E. A. Paine.
Brigadier-General S. A. Hurlburt.	

The following is a list of Illinois volunteer regiments and names of their commanders :—

- 7th. Colonel John Cook.
- 8th. Colonel Richard Oglesby.
- 9th. Colonel E. A. Paine, afterward brigadier-general.
- 10th. Colonel James D. Morgan, *vice* Prentiss, promoted.
- 11th. Colonel Wm. H. L. Wallace.
- 12th. Colonel John McArthur (Highlanders).
- 13th. Colonel John B. Wyman.
- 14th. Colonel John M. Palmer.
- 15th. Colonel Thomas J. Turner.
- 16th. Colonel Robert T. Smith.
- 17th. Colonel Leonard F. Ross.
- 18th. Colonel Michael K. Lawler.
- 19th. Colonel John B. Turchin.
- 20th. Colonel C. Carroll Marsh.
- 21st. Colonel J. W. S. Alexander; *vice* U. S. Grant, promoted.
- 22d. Colonel Henry Dougherty.
- 23d. Colonel James A. Mulligan.
- 24th. Colonel Frederick Hecker (German regiment, Jäger Rifles).
- 25th. Colonel William N. Coler.
- 26th. Colonel John M. Loomis.
- 27th. Colonel Napoleon B. Buford (McClerland's Brigade).
- 28th. Colonel William Kellogg.
- 29th. Colonel James S. Reardon (McClerland's Brigade).
- 30th. Colonel Philip B. Fouke (McClerland's Brigade).
- 31st. Colonel John A. Logan, M. C. ninth district (McClerland's Brigade).
- 32d. Colonel John Logan, Macoupin county.
- 33d. Colonel Charles E. Hovey (Normal regiment, composed of school teachers).
- 34th. Colonel E. N. Kirk.
- 35th. Colonel Gustavus A. Smith.
- 36th. Colonel Nicholas Gensel.
- 37th. Colonel Julius White.
- 38th. Colonel W. P. Carlin.
- 39th. Colonel Austin Light.
- 40th. Colonel S. G. Hicks.
- 41st. Colonel Isaac C. Pugh.
- 42d. Colonel W. A. Webb.
- 43d. Colonel Julius Raith.
- 44th. Colonel Charles Knobelsdorf.
- 45th. Colonel Charles H. Adams, Hardin Zouave Rifles.



46th. Colonel John Davis.

47th. Colonel John Bryner.

48th. Colonel I. N. Kaynie.

49th. Colonel William R. Morrison.

50th. Colonel M. M. Bane, lieutenant-colonel commanding.

First cavalry regiment, Colonel Thomas A. Marshall, Charleston, Ill.

Second " " Colonel Silas T. Noble, Dixon, Ill.

Third cavalry regiment, Colonel Eugene A. Carr, U. S. A.

Fourth " " Colonel T. Lyle Dickey, of Ottawa, Ill.

Company A, light artillery, six guns, Captain James Smith, resigned  
September 12th.

Company B, light artillery, six guns, Captain Ezra Taylor.

Company C, light artillery, six guns, Captain Peter Davidson.

Company D, light artillery, six guns, Captain R. Matteson.

The independent artillery companies in service, but not lettered or attached to regiments or brigades, were as follows:—

Lockport Artillery, six guns, Captain N. L. Hawley.

Plainfield Artillery, six guns, Captain McAllister.

Springfield Artillery, six guns, Captain Hopkins.

Ottawa Artillery, six guns, Captain Houghtaling.

The regiments nineteen, thirty-three, thirty-seven, forty-seven and twenty-four, were, early in September, ordered to Washington. Two of the generals, Pope and Hunter, were in command in Missouri, and General Grant was in command at Cairo, where Illinois troops had assembled in April. This city is at the southern extremity of Illinois, at the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. The city is surrounded with levees forty-two feet above low-water, to protect it from the overflow of the rivers, which rise, at ordinary floods, thirty-five feet. The place is entirely commanded by Bird's Point, Missouri. Troops can cross from Kentucky to Missouri from old Fort Jefferson, four miles below Cairo, and have easy access to Bird's Point without being seen from Cairo. On the Kentucky shore there is a ridge which also commands Cairo. The width of the rivers, at this point is about three-quarters of a mile each. Cairo, on its occupation, became the point of concentration for men and gunboats in the expedition against the Confederates in Kentucky and Tennessee. In August the railroads in western Tennessee were taken pos-

session of by the state authorities, as was alleged, for the purpose of conveying troops toward Cairo. This movement had caused the difficulty between Tennessee and Kentucky. About 8,000 troops, however, crossed the river to New Madrid, where they were joined by others from Tennessee, Arkansas, and Missouri, forming a large number, which, it was asserted, were about to attack Cairo. It was this intended expedition which engaged General Fremont's attention soon after his arrival at St. Louis, in July, 1861. The troops sent by Fremont raised the Union force at Cairo to 8,000 men. Illinois troops were added, under the command of General Grant.

The Confederates, after taking possession of Columbus, September 4th, immediately commenced to fortify it. Their works were pushed to such an extent as to make the place one of the strongest held by the Confederate troops. The position was regarded in the Confederacy as the northern key to the mouth of the Mississippi, and with some degree of justice. It is situated in Kentucky, on the Mississippi river, eighteen miles below Cairo by water, forty-seven miles from Paducah, and forty-five miles above Island No. 10, in the Mississippi river. It is the terminus of the Mobile and Ohio railroad, and nine miles below, at Hickman, the Nashville and North-western railroad terminates. The town is on the southern slope of a high bluff of the Mississippi bank, and commands the stream for five miles. Here were placed in battery three 128 lb. guns, seventy-five feet above the water. Farther up were fourteen rifled guns; on the northern slope of the bluff were two light batteries, and a rifle-pit one mile in length. These were designed to protect the place against a land attack from the north. On the summit of the hills was a strongly intrenched work commanding the position in all directions, and armed with eight guns on the south side; and to protect the town from a rear attack, was a small battery of eight guns. All the guns in position were estimated at 180. On the river was a floating battery of

twenty guns, capable of being moved to the most exposed points. The number of troops occupying and manning these batteries was in the neighborhood of 30,000, under General Leonidas Polk. While these movements were in progress, Paducah was seized by the Union troops under General Grant, and barely in time to anticipate General Polk, who had already moved with the same intention. Paducah was a place of military importance. It is on the Ohio river below the mouth of the Tennessee river, and three hundred and forty miles from Louisville. It is fifty miles from Cairo, and is connected with all the Southern railroads. It was considered by the Unionists as the proper place for the departure of expeditions down the Mississippi, and by the Confederate general as necessary to the defence of his rear on the Mississippi, and to seize it he advanced two or three times, as far as Mayfield, with a large force, but did not strike. On the 5th of September, the ninth Illinois, Major Phelps, and the twelfth Illinois, Colonel McArthur, with four guns, left Cairo, and disembarked at Paducah on the 6th, taking possession of some goods in the railroad depot, destined for southern towns. All the rolling stock of the road had, however, been sent off. On the following day, the eighth and the forty-first Illinois, with the American Zouaves from Cape Girardeau, arrived, increasing the force to 5,000 men. By this occupation, there were a fleet and two flanking armies to assail the Confederate position in the south-west, by a line shorter and less exposed than from Missouri. The closing of the railroad stopped the receipts of large supplies of provisions and military stores, which had been sent to the South. As the place commands the Tennessee river, the commerce of that stream was also stopped. The surface of the country presented no means of defence against expeditions either on the line of the railroad or up the river. The movements in that direction some months later, reducing forts Henry and Donelson, caused the evacuation of Columbus, which was no longer tenable after those events.

On both sides great accumulations of troops continued to be made through the month of November. On the 1st of December, the Federal troops in Kentucky were estimated at 70,000, of which nine regiments were from Illinois, sixteen from Indiana, seventeen from Ohio, three from Pennsylvania, one from Michigan, three from Wisconsin, two from Minnesota. At the same time, according to the official returns of the state military board at Frankfort, Kentucky, the number of recruits from that state in the United States army was as follows:

Already sworn into service.....	17,200
To which add four regiments recruited in Camp Dick Robinson, and in service.....	4,000
Two regiments in Rousseau's brigade.....	2,000
Provost-marshal's force at Louisville.....	500
Kentuckians in the two regiments in Western Virginia, about	1,000
Residents of the state who went to other states and entered the service, about.....	1,000
Recruited for the regular army, about.....	300
<hr/>	
Making a force of.....	26,000

These large preparations were crowned with such success, that by March 1st, 1862, every Confederate soldier had left the state.

The battles in Kentucky in 1861 were as follows:

	Date.	UNION LOSS.		CONFEDERATE LOSS.		
		Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.
Lucas Bend,	Sept. 10	—	—	68	—	—
" "	" 26	—	—	4	—	5
Buffalo Hill,	Oct. 3	10	10	50	—	—
Wild Cat,	" 21	4	20	—	—	—
West Liberty,	" 23	—	2	21	—	34
Cromwell,	" 28	—	—	2	5	—
Saratoga,	" 28	—	3	13	17	44
Woodbury,	" 29	1	—	50	—	—
Morgantown,	" 31	—	—	loss.	—	—
Prestonburg,	Nov. 2	—	—	rout.	—	—
Boston,	" 5	—	—	9	—	—
Piketon,	" 11	6	22	32	—	—
Munfordsville,*	Dec. 17	13	13	68	20	—

The new year opened with the most important successes in Kentucky and Tennessee.

When, about the middle of November, General Zollicoffer made his camp at Mill Spring, on the southern bank of the Cumberland, he determined also to occupy the opposite, or northern bank, at Camp Beach Grove. This he fortified with earthworks, and placed there five regiments of infantry, twelve guns, and several hundred cavalry—keeping at Mill Spring two regiments of infantry, and a few hundred horse. About the 1st of January General George B. Crittenden arrived and took command, and soon after the brigade of General Carroll came from Knoxville. On the 6th of January General Crittenden issued a proclamation calling upon the people to join the Southern standard and repel the invaders. He denounced, in strong terms, what he called the duplicity and falsehood of the Federal executive. His address does not appear to have been followed by any very important results. He seems to have been, at this very time, far more in want of food than of men.

At the same time the Union forces held Columbia, to the left of Beach Grove camp, twenty-five miles distant, with several regiments, and Schoepf held Somerset, fifteen miles distant, to the right, with an equal force. Between these two positions ran Fishing Creek, then so much swollen by rain that it could not be crossed. On the 17th of January, pursuant to orders from General Buell, General Thomas advanced and occupied Logan's Cross Roads, ten miles north of the Beach Grove camp. The enemy were in a position which was untenable, for want of provisions. They were on short allowance, and the neighboring country had been exhausted. The Union troops at Columbia commanded the Cumberland river by which supplies might have been drawn from Nashville. In every direction the roads were so bad that wagons could not be serviceable. In this state of affairs it was determined to attack the Union troops at Cross Roads before the force at Somerset should be able to join them, and, if possible, before the reserve at Columbia could be brought up. Consequently, at

midnight on the 19th the brigade of Zollicoffer moved in advance, followed by that of Carroll, and by the reserve in his rear. Advancing in this order about two miles, they encountered and drove in the cavalry of Woolford, of Manson's brigade, who immediately formed the tenth Indiana on the road to await the attack. The enemy advanced up the road, Zollicoffer leading, with two Mississippi companies deployed as skirmishers, one on each side of it. The struggle was vigorous for about half a mile, when Zollicoffer was killed. The Confederate general surrounded by his staff was leading his men, when Colonel Fry, of the fourth Kentucky, charged up the hill, and fired upon the chief, who fell dead from his horse. This circumstance had a very depressing effect upon the enemy. The Tennessee brigade, with Kenny's battery, came into line on the left of the fourth Kentucky, repelling the enemy's attack. At the same time the ninth Ohio and second Minnesota formed on the Union right, having opposed to them the seventeenth, nineteenth, and twenty-seventh Tennessee. The ninth Ohio charged with the bayonet, turning the enemy's flank, and driving them from the field. The enemy then fell back to his intrenchments, where he was cannonaded until dark. In the evening General Schoepf joined with the seventeenth, thirty-first, and thirty-eighth Ohio. On the following morning the cannonading was recommenced, with Parrott guns, also directed upon the ferry across Fishing Creek, to prevent the enemy from crossing. When the intrenchments were assaulted, it was found that the enemy had retired during the night, abandoning every thing—twelve guns, with caissons filled, one hundred and fifty wagons, one thousand horses, and many stores. After crossing, they had burned the ferry-boats, and pursuit was impossible. The enemy could not hold the camp because they had no provisions, and because Mill Spring was exposed to capture by a small force sent to their rear. There was no possible alternative but to abandon every thing to save the army: It was requisite





DEATH OF GENERAL ZOLLICOFFER IN THE BATTLE OF MILL SPRING,





to retreat to some place to obtain rations, and Gainsboro' was the only accessible point of supply. The Union loss in the battle was thirty-nine killed, and two hundred and seven wounded. The enemy lost Generals Zollicoffer and Baillie Peyton, and one hundred and ninety killed, sixty-two wounded, and eighty-nine prisoners, besides a large number drowned in crossing the Cumberland.

The enemy at the same time sustained another loss. Early in January, Humphrey Marshall, with four regiments and four guns, held an intrenched position five miles south of Paintsville, in eastern Kentucky. A movement was made, January 7th, to dislodge him. For this purpose Colonel Garfield, with the forty-second Ohio, the fourteenth Kentucky, and a squadron of Ohio cavalry, together with the first Virginia, and four companies of the twenty-second Kentucky, comprising 2,500 men, advanced upon him from Muddy Creek. At the same time the fortieth Ohio and some cavalry advanced by way of Paint Creek. Learning of the approach of these two bodies, Marshall burnt large quantities of grain, broke up his camp, and retired to the heights of Middle Creek, two miles from Prestonburg, leaving a corps at the mouth of Jennis Creek. These being attacked vigorously by Colonel Bolles, of the Virginia horse, retired upon the main body. It had been designed that Colonel Garfield should have got in the rear of the enemy before the attack of Bolles, but he lost too much time, and the enemy reached their position before they were overtaken. They were attacked, but maintained the position until dark, when the Union reinforcements arrived, too tired to make the assault, and in the morning the enemy had retreated. The Union loss was one killed and thirteen wounded. The Confederate loss was stated at twenty-seven killed, sixty wounded, and twenty-five prisoners. Marshall retreated toward Abingdon, Virginia, and Colonel Garfield occupied Prestonburg. Thus two Confederate armies were driven out of Kentucky at nearly the same time.

The Confederates, thus forced out of eastern Kentucky still held four formidable positions, viz.: Fort Henry, on the Cumberland, and Fort Donelson, on the Tennessee, about seventy miles from the mouths of those rivers, and barring the way by water into Tennessee and Alabama; Bowling Green, near the middle of the state; and Columbus, on the Mississippi. The Union forces held Munfordsville, between Mill Spring and Bowling Green, and various less important points. The two great rivers, the Tennessee and the Cumberland, both fall into the Ohio near the western end of Kentucky. For a distance of seventy miles from their mouths they run nearly parallel, ten miles distant, crossing Kentucky into Tennessee. The Cumberland then tends eastward, and, after traversing half the state, turns north-east, and re-enters Kentucky. The Tennessee keeps a southerly direction until it enters Alabama, when it turns easterly, and, after traversing the northern part of the state, re-enters Tennessee. The Cumberland is navigable for steam to Nashville, 200 miles, and for boats 300 miles further. The Tennessee is navigable for steam 275 miles, to Florence, Alabama, and for boats 250 miles further. These two great arteries afforded the means of not only penetrating into the interior of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama, but also of causing to fall the defences of the Mississippi, which had been so elaborately prepared by the enemy. Early in the summer the necessity of preparing a fleet of gunboats at Cairo, for the purpose of commanding the navigable waters of the West, had become apparent. It was decided to construct twelve gunboats, to carry, in all, 126 guns, viz.:—the Benton, sixteen guns; Mound City, Cincinnati, Louisville, Carondelet, St. Louis, Cairo, and Pittsburgh, each thirteen guns; the Lexington, Essex, Conestoga, and Tyler, each nine guns. The guns, many of them rifled, are thirty-two-pounders, forty-two-pounders, sixty-four-pounders, and the Essex throws a shell of 128 pounds. Each boat has a Dahlgren rifled twelve-pound boat-howitzer. The ten-inch Dahlgren shell-gun

is the most effective. Several of the boats were iron-clad, and cost \$89,000 each. There were also ordered thirty-eight mortar boats, each sixty feet long and twenty feet wide, surrounded by iron-plate bulwarks, seven feet high, but only a part of these were built. The mortar weighs 17,200 pounds, and throws a thirteen-inch shell. The mortar is seventeen inches thick, and, with a charge of fifteen pounds of powder, it throws a shell three and a half miles. This fleet was under the command of Commodore A. H. Foote.\* The completion of the fleet and the organization of the land force delayed the expedition until February, 1862. The Confederates had located Fort Henry on the Tennessee at an important point, about seventy miles from the mouth. On the 20th of January the Conestoga, Captain Phelps, felt its way up the river and shelled a battery just below Fort Henry, but receiving no response, withdrew. On the 6th of February the force under Commodore Foote proceeded up the river, to the fort, which mounted seventeen guns and twenty mortars, but was occupied by a number of men hardly sufficient to work the guns. A force of some 5,000 Confederates was encamped outside, where had been constructed log cabins for the accommodation of 3,000 men. They had been reinforced by 1,000 cavalry, and were commanded by General Lloyd Tilghman, of Kentucky, a graduate of West Point. The naval part of the expedition consisted of the iron-clad gunboats Cincinnati, flag-ship, Captain Stembel; Essex, Commander Porter; Carondelet, Commander Walker; and St. Louis, Lieutenant Paulding; and the wooden gunboats Conestoga, Lieutenant Phelps; Tyler, Lieutenant

\* Andrew H. Foote, son of the late Governor Foote, born in Connecticut, in 1807, entered the navy, as midshipman, in 1822. He served in the East Indies against the pirates—on the African coast, to prevent the slave-trade—and on the China coast; and in April, 1861, he commanded the Brooklyn navy-yard. In the fall of 1861 he was assigned to the Mississippi; captured Fort Henry; was wounded at the capture of Fort Donelson; captured Island No. 10; and besieged Fort Wright, but before its reduction was obliged to relinquish his command in consequence of his wound.

Gunn; and Lexington, Lieutenant Shirk. The military force consisted of about 10,000 men, with three days' rations, formed in two divisions, the first composed of the first and second brigades, comprising the eighth, eighteenth, twenty-seventh, twenty-ninth, thirtieth, and thirty-first, eleventh, twentieth, forty-fifth, and forty-eighth Illinois regiments, with one regiment (the fourth Illinois) and four independent companies of cavalry, and four batteries of artillery, the whole under command of Brigadier-General McClelland. The second comprised the seventh, ninth, twelfth, twenty-eighth, and forty-first Illinois regiments, the eleventh Indiana, the seventh and twelfth Iowa, the eighth and thirteenth Missouri, with artillery and cavalry, under the command of General Smith. After arriving at Paducah some change was made in the arrangement of the troops, and soon the whole fleet, under convoy of the gunboats Essex, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Carondelet, Lexington, Tyler and Conestoga, were plunging their way swiftly up the muddy Tennessee, toward the fort. When within a few miles the troops were landed, and sent to make the attack upon the land side of the fort while the gunboats attacked the water front. They did not, however, reach the fort until it had surrendered to the gunboats. On arriving within 1,700 yards of the fort, the flag-ship, the Cincinnati, opened fire. As they approached the fort, slowly steaming till within 600 yards of the rebel batteries, the fire both from the gunboats and the fort increased in rapidity and accuracy of range. The scene is described as being terrifically grand. The air seemed filled with the flying missiles. The heavy boom of the guns and the shrieking of the shells as they rushed through the air, were echoed back from the surrounding hills, till the whole space, for miles around, seemed filled with one confused roar. The fort was soon wrapped in a cloud of smoke, which rose lazily up and floated away over the hills, and through it the flashes of her guns broke like successive gleams of lightning.

For nearly an hour this fierce conflict continued, the boats gradually approaching nearer and nearer, until within a few hundred yards of the fort, when the rebels' fire slackened, and suddenly a white flag was raised on the ramparts; but the dense smoke prevented its being seen by the boats, and the firing still continued.

In a few moments more the rebel flag, which had been proudly flaunting from a tall pole in the centre of the fort, was hauled down, and Fort Henry was ours.

Captain Phelps was ordered to land and take possession. There were sixty-three prisoners with General Tilghman, who surrendered to Commodore Foote. The force that had surrounded the fort had entirely dispersed, without firing a shot. There were only four dead in the fort. Among the guns of the fort was a sixty-pound rifled gun, which had been of great service. It had sent a shot through the boiler of the *Essex*, causing an explosion that wounded twenty-nine officers and men, including Captain Porter, and compelling the *Essex* to drop astern, out of the fight. That gun soon after burst, greatly disheartening the Confederates. It had been cast at the Trelegar works, Richmond, which had also cast a great gun that burst at Columbus, Kentucky. The taking of Fort Henry caused much rejoicing. It proved the value of the gunboats, and opened the whole control of the river, as was shown by the successful voyage of three gunboats to the head of navigation, at Florence, Alabama, capturing two steamers and a gunboat; and six others, loaded with stores, were burnt by the enemy to prevent their falling into the hands of the Federals. Much Union feeling manifested itself in northern Alabama.

The success of the attack on Fort Henry was also followed by other important results, since it exposed the enemy's positions at Columbus on one hand, and at Bowling Green on the other. The latter place had been ordered to be occupied by General A. S. Johnston, when he assumed the command of the Confederates in



that department of the West. He deemed it then necessary because of the action of the Kentucky legislature against the Confederates. Toward the close of the year the force under General Buckner had, with difficulty, preserved its strength, although great efforts had been made to concentrate men and arms. January 16th a notice was published in Barren county, requiring all guns belonging to persons who "will not volunteer," to be delivered to the inspector of arms, at Glasgow; and all persons between eighteen and forty-five, who were possessed of taxable property to the value of \$500, and had no gun, were to pay twenty dollars, for which an evidence of debt against the Confederate government would be issued—delinquents to be fined fifty dollars and imprisoned. The results of this were not much, and while the Union troops continued to increase in numbers and strength, Bowling Green became no stronger, and the utmost efforts of General Johnston brought little aid from the South. When the Union troops and gunboats moved forward with such vigor, under the President's orders, Johnston determined to fight for the defence of Nashville at Fort Donelson. The 14,000 troops at Bowling Green were therefore ordered to evacuate, and this was executed on the approach of the Union forces under General Mitchel, and during the attack on Donelson. It was occupied immediately, on the 15th, by General Mitchel. At Fort Donelson, the principal fort on the Cumberland river, were concentrated 16,000 men, under Generals Pillow, Floyd, and Buckner. These men held the place in great confidence. It was admirably constructed, and it was supposed could be taken only after a long siege. Meantime the Union troops, having fully occupied Fort Henry, prepared to strike at Fort Donelson, and on the 12th of February a large force under General Grant left that post in two divisions, under Generals McClelland and Smith, six regiments having been sent by steamers up the river. The gunboats, four of iron and two of wood, arrived and commenced the



THE CHARGE ON FORT DONELSON.



attack on the 14th. After a severe cannonade, of an hour's duration, the water batteries of the fort were silenced. Just then the steering apparatus of two boats were shot away, and the boats drifted out of range. The other boats had suffered so severely, that the naval attack was suspended. The boats returned to Cairo for repairs and the place was invested by land. On the morning of the 15th, however, the enemy sallied in great strength upon M'Clermand's division, driving them back, and making 250 prisoners. Meantime, the enemy having concentrated his force for this purpose, General Smith was ordered to attack the intrenchments, which they carried. M'Clermand then resumed the offensive, drove the enemy back within his lines, and occupied some commanding positions. These actions lasted during the whole day, and closed at night greatly to the advantage of the Union troops. At daylight on the following morning an advance at all points was begun, when a flag of truce from General Buckner demanded an armistice until noon, to arrange terms of capitulation. General Grant replied no terms would be granted except immediate and unconditional surrender. Buckner replied, that he was compelled to accept the "ungenerous and unchivalrous terms," and surrendered at discretion, with 13,300 troops. General Pillow, who was in command of the fort, had at the council of officers previously held refused to surrender, but had transferred the command to Floyd, who had no objection to the surrender, but declared that it would not answer for him to be in the fort, "on account of his peculiar relations to the United States government." The command was then turned over to General Buckner, who said, that in consequence of the occupation of the rifle-pits, he could not hold the place an hour when assaulted in the morning. Pillow and Floyd put as many troops as they could get on board the steamers in their possession, and escaped up the river, leaving General Buckner to make such terms as he could. The Union loss in the battle was 425 killed, 1,516 wound-

ed, and 253 prisoners. The blow was a most disastrous one to the enemy, not only in its material but in its moral results. The city of Nashville was incapable of defence, and strong forces were advancing from Bowling Green and up the Cumberland. The retreat was, therefore, continued to Murfreesborough, where the broken columns of Crittenden coming from Mill Spring, and the fugitives from Donelson and Bowling Green were formed on the main body brought from Nashville, and the whole ultimately united with Bragg's corps at Corinth by a very hazardous march, to co-operate with Beauregard for the defence of the Mississippi.

Meantime, the Union forces poured on. Commodore Foote, with two gunboats, reached Clarksville, the last defensible place before Nashville. He found it evacuated, the enemy having burned the railroad bridge. General Buell with his army advanced on Nashville from Bowling Green, and General Nelson proceeded by the way of the river. On the 16th, the troops that had evacuated Bowling Green passed through the city south, and on the same day Floyd arrived from Donelson, when, for the first time, the inhabitants learned the fall of that place. The governor and legislature had departed for Memphis, carrying off the public archives; gunboats in process of construction were burned, railroad bridges destroyed, and the public stores were distributed to those who wished them. On the 19th, Governor Harris issued a proclamation announcing the fall of Donelson, and calling upon every able-bodied man to enlist in the army. General A. Sidney Johnston was in command at Nashville. On the morning of the 23d, Buell's advance guard appeared at Edgehill, opposite Nashville. General Nelson also arrived up the river, and on the 25th the city was surrendered by the mayor, on assurances that persons and property would be respected. On the 26th, the mayor issued a proclamation assuring citizens of protection from the national forces, and urging them to resume their usual occupations. After

the occupation of the capital of Tennessee and the flight of its government, a new one was organized, and Senator Andrew Johnson was appointed military governor, with the rank of brigadier-general. These events in the interior of the state made the longer occupation of Columbus by the Confederate troops useless, and it was evacuated on the 27th of February. On the 2d of March, a reconnoitering party, sent by Commodore Foote from Cairo, discovered the evacuation, and, on their report, a force was sent to take possession, but a party of Illinois cavalry sent from Paducah by General Sherman occupied it. The enemy fell back to Island No. 10, forty miles below Columbus.

Thus during the two months ending with February, the enemy had been started from their positions in Kentucky and Tennessee, and were kept moving with vigor and success, until their power was broken in both states, and they no longer had a foothold in Kentucky. The army of Marshall had been driven into Virginia; that of Crittenden into Tennessee, followed by that which had held Bowling Green; Floyd's captured at Donelson; Tilghman's driven from Fort Henry, and that of Polk from Columbus. The shattered remains of all these were combining to make a new stand at Corinth.

• After General Hunter in November took command of the Union army in Missouri, and had repudiated the treaty of General Fremont with Price, the Union army began slowly to retire from Springfield, and was followed step by step by the Confederates under Price, in three divisions, with the apparent intention of moving upon Kansas. On the 30th of November his right wing, 5,000 troops, held Stockton; his left, 4,000, under General Rains, was at Nevada, and the centre, 5,000 under Price, at Monticello. Early in November, the Confederates held Belmont, Missouri, opposite Columbus, with a small force, and it was determined to make a reconnoissance for the purpose of preventing the enemy from sending troops to Price on one hand, or to Bowling Green on the other. Accordingly, No-

venber 6th, Generals Grant and McClelland, of the United States forces, left Cairo for Belmont, with the twenty-second Illinois regiment, Colonel Dougherty; the twenty-seventh Illinois, Colonel Buford; the thirtieth Illinois, Colonel Fouke; the thirty-first Illinois, Colonel Logan; the seventh Iowa, Colonel Lamon; Taylor's Chicago artillery, and Dollen's and Delano's cavalry; in all, 4,912 men, on the steamers Alexander Scott, Chancellor, Memphis, and Keystone State, accompanied by the gunboats Lexington and Tyler.

Generals Grant and McClelland's forces landed at Belmont, Mo., at eight A. M., were formed into line of battle, and immediately attacked the rebel works. They were met by the rebels in force, under General Cheatham, whom, however, they drove to and through their camp, captured a battery of twelve guns, burned their camp, and took the rebel baggage, horses, and many prisoners. Large bodies of rebels crossed from Columbus and reinforced those at Belmont, when another severe fight took place, and the national forces withdrew to their boats. Their retreat was well covered by the gunboats. The whole action lasted six hours. The loss on the Confederate side was 261 killed, 427 wounded, 278 missing, total, 966; on that of the Union, 84 killed, 288 wounded, 235 missing, total, 607. This operation had the desired effect of preventing the movement of troops to the aid of Price.

On the 18th of November, General H. W. Halleck arrived at St. Louis, and took command of the western department. The division of General Hunter and that of General Pope were on the line of the Pacific railroad awaiting orders. Generals Sigel and Asboth with their divisions arrived at St. Louis. General Hunter was transferred to the department of Kansas. The plan of General Price, whose chief difficulty was want of arms, was to procure them from the borders of Kansas. He was unsuccessful in this, and was obliged to retreat south of the Osage. General Halleck issued a series of military orders



to the effect, that active rebels and spies had forfeited their rights as citizens, and were liable to capital punishment; all persons in arms against the government, or aiding the enemy, should be arrested, and their property seized; all persons giving information to the enemy to be shot as spies; unenlisted marauders to be treated as criminals; officers to enforce the law confiscating the slave property used for insurrectionary purposes; citizens who had been robbed by insurrectionists to be quartered at the expense of insurrectionists; prisoners of war or slaves to be employed on military defences; and all municipal officers were required to take the oath of allegiance. These orders had an important influence in suppressing the disorders that had existed, and in reducing the number of guerillas, very many of whom were arrested at different points in the state. General John Pope was assigned to the command of all the national forces between the Missouri and Osage rivers, Mo. This force constituted the largest part of the army which General Fremont took to Springfield, Mo. He immediately took active measures to clear that part of the state. Price was on the Osage, and with him about 5,000 men, waiting recruits and supplies from the north. General Pope, December 15th, left Sedalia with two brigades, one under Colonel J. C. Davis, of Indiana, and the second under Colonel F. Steele, eighth Iowa. On the 16th his advanced guard fell in with a part of General Rains' force, between Warrensburg and Rose Hill, and captured sixteen wagons and 150 prisoners, and the pursuit continued under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, the main body moving toward Warrensburg. The scouts reported on the 18th a large force of the enemy coming from Waverley and Arrow Rock. The force was stationed at Warrensburg, and Colonel Davis sent forward with eight companies of cavalry and a section of artillery toward Milford, to turn the left and rear of the enemy. Major Marshall was also sent with ten companies of horse to turn the right and rear of the enemy. The movement was successful.

The enemy, finding himself in presence of a large force, surrendered. The force comprised two regiments of infantry and three companies of cavalry, in all 1,300 men, including three colonels and fifty-one officers, seventy-three wagons loaded with powder and stores, 500 horses, and 1,000 stand of arms. This was a heavy blow to Price, who had been anxiously expecting these supplies. An order was received from General Halleck not to approach the Osage, but to return to Sedalia. Meantime General Prentiss, with some companies of the third Missouri cavalry and of Bridge's sharpshooters, attacked and defeated a Confederate force at Mount Zion, Boone county, December 27th and 28th. The Union loss was three killed and ten wounded. The Confederate power in Missouri was now nearly broken. The weakening of Price by the withdrawal of McCulloch's force took from the secessionists in this state their support, and a few stringent measures of General Halleck settled affairs there.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Affairs in Western Virginia.—General Rosecrans.—Oppression by General Wise.—Population of Western Virginia.—The Confederate Troops.—Gaulley Bridge.—Kanawha Expedition.—Rosecrans's Command.—Proclamation.—General Lee.—Elk Water.—Cheat Mountain.—General Reynolds.—His Command.—Carnifex Ferry.—The Battle.—General Benham.—Retreat of the Enemy.—Dogwood Gap.—Big Sewell.—General Floyd.—General Reynolds.—Green River.—Enemy's loss.—Chapmansville.—Gaulley Bridge.—Guyandotte.—Romney.—Camp Alleghany.

THE state of affairs in Western Virginia, when General McClellan was ordered to the command of the Potomac department, was favorable for the national cause. Brigadier-General Rosecrans had succeeded to the command of the department of the Ohio. General Wise had been in command of the Confederates occupying the line of the Kanawha, and he had conducted his operations in such a manner as greatly to aid the development of the Union sentiment which manifested itself in the new organization of that section, the population of which, as per census of 1860, was as follows:

	Blacks.	Whites.	Total.
Western Virginia, thirty-nine counties	10,101	271,685	281,786
Rest of Virginia, one hundred and nine counties.....	470,786	811,627	1,282,413
	490,887	1,083,312	1,573,199

The Union sentiment among these people was strong, and General Wise failed to recruit his weakened columns. For weeks he kept his guerillas constantly scouring and marauding the counties of Kanawha and Jackson, seizing all the cattle and horses of Union men, and pretending to buy them of disunion men. These cattle and horses

he sent on to the east, until there were very few good horses left in the counties named. Other counties fared but little better. He burned nearly every bridge in the valley except the fine suspension bridge across Elk river, which he ordered cut down and fired. These and similar proceedings had produced great dissatisfaction even among those who regarded secession favorably. In this state of affairs, General Cox advanced against Wise, at Gauley Bridge, July 26th. As soon as the Union scouts were seen, intelligence was conveyed to Wise, who beat a precipitate retreat, leaving behind one thousand five hundred muskets, a large lot of ammunition, tents, and other camp equipage. In his retreat he burned all the bridges on the road, and fell back on a position at White Sulphur Springs, eighteen miles above Gauley river. His force was about three thousand five hundred badly equipped men. Colonel Tyler of the seventh Ohio joined Cox on the same day, and the two corps were united.

Meantime General Rosecrans was at Grafton, on his way to take command of the Kanawha expedition. Cheat Mountain pass, beyond Huttonville, and the route at "Red House," by which the remnant of Garnett's division escaped General Hill, were strongly fortified and occupied; a strong detachment was left at Cheat river pass, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and the two railroads were strongly guarded, when the remainder of the available force in Western Virginia was concentrated and precipitated on the rebels in the Kanawha region. The fifth Ohio, under Colonel Dunning, was at Parkersburg.

The following was the force of General Rosecrans, according to his order No. 1:

#### GENERAL ROSECRANS'S COMMAND.

##### FIRST BRIGADE.

Brigadier-General.....	J. J. Reynolds.
Thirteenth Indiana Volunteers.....	Colonel Sullivan.
Fourteenth Indiana Volunteers.....	Colonel Kimball.
Fifteenth Indiana Volunteers.....	Colonel Wagner.
Third Ohio Volunteers.....	Colonel J. H. Marion.

Sixth Ohio Volunteers.....	Colonel Bosley.
First Virginia Volunteers, portion of..	Colonel Smith.
Second Virginia Volunteers, do....	Colonel Johnson.
Cavalry.....	Captain Burdell.
Cavalry.....	Captain Bracken.
Battery.....	Major Loomis.

## SECOND BRIGADE.

Brigadier-General.....	U. F. Hill.
Seventh Ohio Volunteers.....	Colonel E. B. Tyler.
Tenth Ohio Volunteers.....	Colonel M. D. Manson.
Thirteenth Ohio Volunteers.....	Colonel W. F. Smith.
Seventeenth Ohio Volunteers.....	Colonel J. M. Connell.
Battery.....	Major Mack.
Chicago Cavalry.....	Captain Barker.

## THIRD BRIGADE.

Brigadier-General.....	Colonel R. L. McCook.
Seventh Ohio Volunteers.....	Lieut.-Colonel Sandenhoff.
Fourth Ohio Volunteers.....	Colonel Lorin Andrews.
Flying Artillery.....	Captain Howe.

## FOURTH BRIGADE, OR BRIGADE OF THE KANAWHA.

Brigadier-General.....	J. D. Cox.
First Kentucky Volunteers.....	Colonel W. Woodruff.
Second Kentucky Volunteers.....	Colonel W. G. Terrell.
Eleventh Ohio Volunteers.....	Colonel J. Finlay Harrison.
Twelfth Ohio Volunteers.....	Colonel J. W. Lowe.
Nineteenth Ohio Volunteers.....	Colonel S. Beatty.
Twenty-first Ohio Volunteers.....	Colonel Jesse S. Norton.
United States Infantry.....	Colonel North.
Eighteenth Ohio Vols., portion of...	Colonel T. R. Stanley.
Twenty-second Ohio Vol., portion of,	Colonel W. E. Gilmore.
Ironton Cavalry.....	Captain George.

This does not, however, comprise all the regiments then in Virginia. The adjutant-general of the department was G. L. Hartsuff, who was one of the officers at Fort Pickens.

General Rosecrans issued the following order:

“HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,

“CLARKSBURG, WESTERN VA., *August 17th, 1861.*

“Great looseness and irregularity prevails in the arrest and discharge of prisoners. Much care and discretion must be exercised in the arrest of persons merely suspected, and proofs obtained if possible; but when proofs exist, and particularly when taken with arms in hand, or with any evidence of intention or preparation to pursue other than a perfectly peaceable course, *no prisoner whatever will be*

*released*, but as soon as practicable, he will be forwarded, with a full statement of his case, to these headquarters.

"By order of Brigadier-General ROSECRANS.

"GEORGE L. HARTSUFF, *Assistant Adjutant-General*."

General Lee succeeded to the command of the Confederate troops in Virginia, and was quartered about Parkersburg, August 21st, while the Union troops were in the neighborhood of Gauley and the Parkersburg turnpike. On the 12th of September, the enemy, nine thousand strong, with eight to twelve pieces of artillery, under command of General R. E. Lee, advanced, by the Huntersville pike, on Elk Water, held by the first brigade, Indiana troops, General Reynolds.\* Our advanced pickets—portions of the fifteenth Indiana and sixth Ohio—gradually fell back to our main picket station, two companies of the seventeenth Indiana, under Colonel Hascall, checking the enemy's advance at the Point Mountain turnpike, and then falling back on the regiment, which occupied a very advanced position on our right front, and which was now ordered in. The enemy threw into the woods on our left front three regiments, who made their way to the right and rear of Cheat Mountain, took a position on the road leading to Huttonville, broke the telegraph wire, and cut off Reynolds' communication with Colonel Kimball's fourteenth Indiana cavalry on Cheat Summit. Simultaneously another force

\* Joseph Jones Reynolds is a native of Kentucky, but recently a citizen of Indiana. He entered the Military Academy at West Point, and graduated in 1839, with the highest honors. On the 1st of July, 1843, he was brevetted second-lieutenant in the fourth artillery, was transferred to the third artillery in May, 1846, and promoted to a first-lieutenancy in March, 1847. From August, 1846, to August, 1847, Lieutenant Reynolds was acting assistant professor of ethics, &c., in the Military Academy at West Point, and acting assistant professor of natural and experimental philosophy, to August, 1849, and assistant professor to 1853. He was afterward professor of natural philosophy, &c., at the Washington University, at St. Louis, Missouri, and held that position until 1856. On the 28th of February, 1857, he resigned from the army, and from that time we have no record of him until the 17th of May, 1861, when he was created a brigadier-general, and assigned to duty in the division of General Rosecrans, where he commanded the Indiana troops.

of the enemy, of about equal strength, advanced by the Staunton pike on the front of Cheat Mountain, and threw two regiments to the right and rear of Cheat Mountain, which united with the three regiments from the other column of the enemy. (The two posts, Cheat Summit and Elk Water, are seven miles apart by a bridle path over the mountains, and eighteen by the wagon-road *via* Huttonville; Cheat Mountain pass, the former headquarters of the brigade, being at the foot of the mountain, ten miles from the summit.) The enemy, advancing toward the pass, by which he might possibly have obtained the rear or left of Elk Water, was met there by three companies of the thirteenth Indiana, ordered up for that purpose, and by one company of the fourteenth Indiana, from the summit. These four companies engaged and gallantly held in check greatly superior numbers of the enemy, foiled him in his attempt to obtain the rear or left of Elk Water, and threw him into the rear and right of Cheat Mountain—the companies retiring to the pass at the foot of the mountains.

The enemy, about five thousand strong, were closed in on Cheat Summit. So matters rested at dark on the 12th, with heavy forces in front and in plain sight of both posts, communication cut off, and the supply train for the mountain, loaded with provisions which were needed, waiting for an opportunity to pass up the road. Under such circumstances General Reynolds, resolving to force a communication with Cheat Mountain, ordered the thirteenth Indiana, under Colonel Sullivan, to cut their way, if necessary, by the mail road, and the greater part of the third Ohio and second Virginia, under Colonels Marion and Johnson, respectively, to do the same by the path, the two commands starting at three o'clock. This was effected and communication opened..

Meantime General Lee advanced on Elk Water, when one rifled ten-pound Parrott gun, from Loomis' battery, was run to the front three-fourths of a mile, and delivered a few shots at the enemy, which caused him to retire. He



renewed the attack early on the 14th, and was met by the fifteenth Indiana, with such vigor, that he withdrew ten miles.

The result of these affairs was a loss of one hundred of the enemy killed, including Colonel John A. Washington, aid-de-camp to General Lee (the same who was arrested by John Brown, at the capture of Harper's Ferry, in 1859), and about twenty prisoners. The Unionists lost nine killed, including Lieutenant Junod, fourteenth Indiana, two missing, and about sixty prisoners, including Captain James Bense and Lieutenants Gillman and Shaffer, of the sixth Ohio, and Lieutenant Merrill, of the engineers.

This operation closed Tygart's Valley to the enemy. Among the Confederate officers were General Anderson and Colonels Heck, Taliaferro, Maury, Hadden, and Forbes, who were in command of the enemy's forces.

General Reynolds' force was as follows :

United States Battery, 4th artillery, Co. S.	Captain A. P. Howe.
Michigan Battery (Coldwater).....	Major Loomis.
Virginia Battery.....	Captain Daum.
First Indiana Cavalry, Co. A.....	Captain Bracken.
Ohio Cavalry.....	Captain Robinson.
Pennsylvania Cavalry.....	Captain Greenfield.
Twenty-fourth Ohio.....	Colonel J. Ammen.
Twenty-fifth Ohio.....	Colonel J. A. Jones.
Thirty-second Ohio.....	Colonel J. H. Ford.
Seventh Indiana.....	Colonel E. Dumont.
Ninth Indiana.....	Colonel R. H. Milroy.
Thirteenth Indiana.....	Colonel J. E. Sullivan.
Fourteenth Indiana.....	Colonel N. Kimball.
Fifteenth Indiana.....	Colonel G. D. Wagner.
Seventeenth Indiana.....	Colonel M. S. Hascall.

Early in September General Wise was encamped at Dogwood Gap, a few miles from Carnifex Ferry, on the Gauley river, which was held by General Floyd with 5,000 men and sixteen guns, intrenched in a very strong position on the top of a mountain, around the southern base of which winds the Gauley river, forming a semi-circle, in the centre of which is Gauley bridge. His rear and both flanks were thus perfectly protected. The front

was masked by a thick wood and jungle. General Rosecrans, on the 10th of September, after a march of seventeen and a half miles with Benham's brigade, reached the front of this position. The Ohio tenth regiment, of General Benham's, late Hill's brigade, was in advance, and drove a strong detachment of the enemy out of camp east of the position, the site of which was unknown. Shortly afterward his scouts, consisting of four companies, suddenly discovered themselves in the face of a parapet battery, and a long line of palisades for riflemen, when the battle opened fiercely. The remainder of the tenth and thirteenth Ohio were brought into action successively by General Benham, and the twelfth afterward by Captain Hartsuff, whose object was an armed reconnoissance. The enemy played upon the national forces terrifically, with musketry, rifles, canister, and shell, causing some casualties. Colonel Lytle led several companies of Irish to charge the battery, when he was brought down by a shot in the leg. Colonel Smith's thirteenth Ohio engaged the rebels on the left, and Colonel Lowe's twelfth Ohio directly in the front. Lowe fell dead at the head of his regiment early in the hottest fire, by a ball in the forehead. McMullen's howitzer battery and Snyder's two field-pieces, meantime, were got into the best position possible under the circumstances, and soon silenced two of the rebel guns. The fire slackened at intervals, but grew more furious as night approached, when the German brigade was led gallantly into the action by Colonel McCook, under the direction of Adjutant-General Hartsuff, but who, after a furious fight of three hours, ordered the recall of the troops, and the men lay on their arms within a short distance of the enemy all night.

General Floyd retreated during the night. In doing so he sunk the boats in the river and destroyed the temporary bridge which he had made when he first occupied the position. The turbulence and depth of the river, and the exhaustion of the troops, made it impossible to

follow him. He left his camp-equipage, wagons, horses, large quantities of ammunition, and fifty head of cattle. The national troops lost fifteen killed and about seventy wounded, generally flesh-wounds. Captain McGroarty, of Cincinnati, and Captain McMullen and Lieutenant Snyder, of Ohio, were wounded, but not dangerously. Twenty-five of Colonel Tyler's men, who were taken by Floyd at Cross Lane, were re-captured, and Floyd's personal baggage, with that of his officers, was taken by General Benham's brigade, which suffered most. General Rosecrans and General Benham, Colonel McCook, Colonel Lytle, Colonel Lowe, Captain Hartsuff, Captain Snyder, Captain McCullen Burke, of the tenth Ohio, and the other officers, displayed conspicuous personal gallantry. The Confederate general, who had been wounded in the arm, retired with his men fifteen miles on the main Charleston road, fifty-five miles west of Lewisburg, and within a few miles of Dogwood Gap, held by General Wise, whose advance held the Hawk's Nest. The retreat was continued toward Greenbrier river, and on September 14th General Floyd and his forces encamped on the summit of the Big Sewall Mountain, and ordered General Wise to encamp east of him, who accordingly selected his camp ground on the western slope of the Big Sewall, calling his position Camp Defiance. General Floyd, on the 17th, thought his own position not tenable against a large force, and he fell back to Meadow Bluff, under the impression that Rosecrans was before him with 15,000 men. He ordered General Wise to follow, covering his rear. General Wise concluded that his position was strong enough to make a good defence against large numbers, and decided to hold the place at all hazards, as the best means of covering Floyd's army. On the 20th General Lee arrived at Floyd's camp, and subsequently inspecting Wise's position, ordered him to hold it until further orders. General Wise had 1,700 men, but on the 24th General Lee moved forward with a force which raised the number to 5,500

men, with eleven guns, at a point where the Staunton turnpike ascends the Alleghany mountains. General Floyd remained at Meadow Bluff with 1,500 men. On the arrival of General Lee, General Wise was ordered to report in person to the secretary of war, at Richmond.

This being the position of the enemy, General Reynolds proceeded to reconnoitre, and on the night of October 2d he started from the summit of Cheat Mountain, twelve miles from Greenbrier, with Howe's battery, fourth regular artillery; Loomis's battery, Michigan volunteer artillery; part of Daum's battery, Virginia volunteer artillery; the twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth and thirty-second Ohio regiments; the seventh, ninth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth and seventeenth Indiana regiments (the last four being reduced by continuous hard service and sickness to about half regiments), parts of Robinson's company, of Ohio; Greenfield's reserve, and Bracken's Indiana cavalry—in all about 5,000. The fourteenth Indiana, Colonel Kimball, led the advance, and deployed one company to open the way for Loomis's battery. These encountered 600 of the enemy, when the regiment advanced and drove them in. The Confederate camp was located on a high, steep elevation, known as Buffalo Hill, at a sharp turn of the road, and so situated that an attacking force had to come directly under the guns and intrenchments of the right of the camp to obtain even a view of the left. The formation of the ground is particularly favorable for the construction of terraces, and the enemy had made good use of its advantages. Their defences rose one above the other, far up the hill, extending even into the forest above the camp. The sole attack contemplated was directly in front, with artillery, the infantry to be used merely to protect the batteries.

A vigorous attack of the Indiana regiments in front soon drove the enemy from their lower intrenchments, but the fresh troops sent forward restored the fight, and it was maintained with great vigor during four hours. The



ARTILLERY TRAIN.

artillery had now fired about twelve hundred shot and shell, and were nearly out of ammunition. Loomis had nothing left but canister, and Howe was nearly as destitute. Daum's piece had been disabled and hauled off. Under these circumstances, the general having fully realized the objects of the movement and having gratified the infantry, ordered an end to the engagement.

The combat having ceased, the army retired, in order to their camp, having lost eight killed and thirty-two wounded, and having brought away thirteen prisoners. The enemy's loss was estimated at three hundred. Meantime a party of Confederates held Chapmansville, on the Guyandotte, and on September 21st five companies of the first Kentucky regiment, under Colonel Piatt, four companies of the thirty-fourth Ohio regiment, and one company of the fifth Virginia regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Enyart, surrounded and attacked them, and after a short engagement completely routed them, killing sixty and taking seventy prisoners. The rebels in escaping were intercepted by Colonel Piatt, who killed forty and took a large number of prisoners. The country between Charleston and Guyandotte river was now freed from secession forces.

The enemy remained in considerable force in the neighborhood of Gauley Bridge, to the close of October. At the point where the Gauley and New rivers come together, forming the Great Kanawha, is Gauley Bridge, or rather the remains of the bridge burned by Wise in his retreat in July. It spans the Gauley river about two hundred yards above its confluence with the New. The country is very mountainous, the hills on all sides looming up fully five hundred feet, and the watercourses almost entirely covering the valleys, so that there is not room in many places for even a wagon road. The Union forces were encamped at the bridge, and at several points on the east bank of New river, extending up that stream twelve or fifteen miles.

On the 1st of November a detachment of scouts from



the second Kentucky regiment, under Captain Wheeler, returned to General Rosecrans's headquarters, and reported the rebels in considerable force on the west side of New river.

Shortly after Captain Wheeler's return, two batteries were opened upon our troops in the vicinity of Gauley Bridge, from the hills on the opposite side of the river—one directly opposite the bridge, and the other two miles lower down, at the falls of the Kanawha, opposite a large brick house, in which our commissary supplies were stored. The upper battery, after wasting a good deal of ammunition, succeeded in driving the eleventh Ohio from their camp on the hill-side opposite, and in sinking a flatboat, which served the army as a ferry. The flatboat was raised again the same evening, and made to do good service.

It was not till the day had far advanced, that the Union artillery could be brought to bear upon the enemy's batteries. The rifled guns were all at the various camps up New river, but when they were once placed in position it was not long until both the rebel batteries were silenced.

A train of wagons on its way from Gauley Bridge to the encampments above, was fired upon the same day, when five or six miles up the river, by rebel infantry, and two of our men were wounded. Three companies from General Benham's camp at Hawk's Nest came to their relief, and soon drove the enemy back of the hills.

On the 10th of November General Benham, with his brigade, crossed the Kanawha river near the mouth of Loup Creek, Western Virginia, and marched forward on the road to Fayetteville Court House, to get in the rear of the rebel army under Floyd, on Cotton Hill, at the junction of the New, Gauley, and Kanawha rivers. Part of General Cox's brigade at the same time crossed the New river near Gauley, and attacked Floyd's force in front. After a slight skirmish, the rebels fell back to Dickenson's farm, four miles, and at night retreated toward Raleigh. On the same night a body of nearly one hundred and fifty Union



troops occupying Guyandotte on the Ohio river, were attacked by the Confederates. The Union soldiers were invited to the houses of the citizens by previous arrangement, and when the Confederates made the attack signals were displayed from the houses where the Federal troops were quartered, in consequence of which ten or twelve were killed and twenty or thirty wounded; and in the attempt to execute this inhuman massacre the rebels lost nearly or quite as many as they killed of the Union soldiers. In retaliation, on the arrival of Colonel Zeigler with a Union force, a part of the town was burned.

Meantime Brigadier-General Kelley, with twenty-five hundred men, of Virginia and Ohio volunteers, left New Creek, Virginia, at night, on the 26th of October, on an expedition against Romney. Nearly at the same time, Thomas Johns, of the second regiment Potomac brigade, marched from the mouth of Patterson's Creek, with seven hundred men, to favor General Kelley's attack on Romney, by a feint or diversion toward the north of the town. At Mill Creek, five miles from Romney, General Kelley's force came upon the outposts of the enemy, which they drove in, and advanced to the Indian Mound Cemetery, to the west of the town, where the enemy made a stand and opened fire with a twelve-pound rifled gun, placed in a very commanding position in the cemetery, and with a mountain howitzer from the high grounds on the east bank of the river, which point commanded our approach for a distance of over a mile. At the east end of the bridge the enemy had also thrown up intrenchments, from which they kept up a constant fire of musketry upon the head of the column. One twelve-pounder and two six-pounders responded to the artillery on Kelley's part until the general was enabled to fully comprehend the enemy's position, when he soon gave the command to charge upon their batteries and intrenchments. The cavalry, under the lead of Captains Keys and McGhee, dashed across the river (which was fordable at this point), while the infantry, under

Colonels Mason and De Puy, Lieutenant-Colonel Kelley, and Major Swearingen, rushed over the bridge to encounter the foe, at the very muzzles of his guns. No sooner did the enemy perceive this movement, than they immediately abandoned their positions, and commenced a precipitate retreat, rushing "pell-mell" through the town, and directing their flight toward Winchester.

General Kelley captured some four hundred or five hundred prisoners, among whom was Colonel E. M. Armstrong, late a member of the Richmond convention, two hundred horses, three wagon loads of new rifles, three cannon, a large quantity of corn, tents, and many other stores. The loss on the Federal side was but one man killed and five wounded. The enemy lost twenty killed and fifteen wounded.

General Kelley on the 28th of October issued a proclamation to the people of Hampshire county, assuring them of protection to life and property, but threatening the guerillas.

On the 14th of November the pickets of General Kelley's brigade were advanced five miles from Romney, Va., on the Winchester road, and were fired into, losing two killed and several wounded. Detachments sent in pursuit of the rebels captured about twelve prisoners. The enemy continued in the neighborhood of Gauley river, and in December a force consisting of two thousand Georgia and Virginia troops, with two guns, under command of Colonel Ed. Johnson, of Georgia, held the mountain pass at the point where the turnpike-road from Staunton passes to Cheat Mountain. It is about ten miles east of the battle-field of October 3d on the Greenbrier.

On the 12th of December about fourteen hundred Union troops, consisting of detachments from the ninth and thirteenth Indiana, twenty-fifth and thirty-second Ohio, second Virginia regiment, and Bracken's cavalry, under command of Gen. R. H. Milroy, marched toward the enemy's camp, which was situated on the top of the Alleghany

mountains, eight and a half miles beyond Camp Bartow, on the Greenbrier river. The column reached Camp Bartow about eight o'clock p. m., where it halted and rested.

At this point the force was marshalled into two divisions, each about seven hundred strong—one consisting of the detachments from the ninth Indiana and second Virginia regiments; the other of the detachments from the thirteenth Indiana, twenty-fifth and thirty-second Ohio regiments, and Bracken's cavalry. At 11 p. m. the ninth Indiana and second Virginia took up their march on what is known as the old "Greenbank road," to attack the enemy on the left—the ninth Indiana, under Colonel Moody and Major John B. Milroy; the second Virginia under Major Owens. At ten o'clock p. m., on the 12th of December, the thirteenth Indiana, twenty-fifth and thirty-second Ohio, and Bracken's cavalry, under Major Dobbs, Colonel J. A. Jones, Captain Hamilton, and Captain Bracken, accompanied by Brigadier-General R. H. Milroy and his staff, had marched by the Staunton turnpike.

The last-named division reached the vicinity of the Confederate camp about daylight; but owing to the badness of the roads, and obstructions from felled trees, the first division could not reach the field in season to co-operate with them, and the little force contended single-handed for about three hours with an enemy of three or four times their number, and drove the rebels back to their camp repeatedly; but they being largely reinforced, Colonel Jones, who was in command, fell back in good order to the headquarters of General Milroy. Just after they retired, the first division came up and engaged the enemy for six hours, when they, too, fell back in order, bringing off all their wounded and most of their dead. The Union loss in both actions was 20 killed, 107 wounded, and 10 missing. The Confederate loss was reported as 25 killed, 97 wounded, and 30 prisoners, among them a major and several other officers.

At Huntersville, about forty miles from Staunton, the Confederates had a depot of munitions and stores. In order to break up this depot General Milroy on the 31st of December sent a force composed as follows: four hundred of the twenty-fifth Ohio, three hundred of the second Virginia, and a detachment of thirty-eight from Bracken's Indiana cavalry, under Lieutenant Dalzell; the whole force being under command of Major Webster, twenty-fifth Ohio; Major Owens, second Virginia, had the immediate command of the Virginians.

On the 3d of January the advancing force encountered the Confederate pickets at Greenbrier river, six miles from Huntersville. The rebels fell back upon the main body four miles in the rear, when the whole retreated, leaving the Union troops in possession of the stores, which were destroyed to the amount of \$25,000 or \$30,000.

On the 4th of January, 1862, the Confederate General Jackson having learned that the Union force at Hancock, Va. (a part of General Lander's command), had been weakened by the withdrawal of the fifth Connecticut regiment, and four companies of the Massachusetts thirteenth, leaving only nine companies of the thirty-ninth Illinois and one of the first regiment of the home brigade and one section of Best's artillery—in all less than one thousand men—resolved to penetrate to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and destroy the railroad bridge over the Little Cacapon, which had been recently rebuilt. He accordingly sent a large force toward Bath, to prevent the Union troops from advancing to protect the bridge. Near Bath the rebels met a scouting party of the thirty-ninth Illinois, consisting of forty men, of whom they killed one and took eight prisoners, the rest escaping to the main body of Union troops, who, with their artillery, were holding the rebels in check near Bath, till reinforcements could arrive. The reinforcements (eighty-fourth Pennsylvania regiment) came up after a time, but their guns were new and could not be made to fire, and the Union force fell



MAJ GEN. DIX.



MAJ GEN POPE



GEN. J. K. F. MANSFIELD



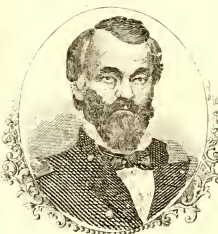
GEN L. BLENKER



MAJ. GEN D. HUNTER.



GEN. HOOKER



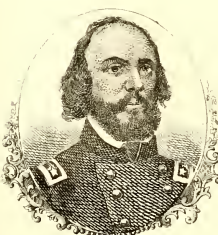
MAJ GEN. HEINTZELMAN.



GEN. FITZ JOHN PORTER.



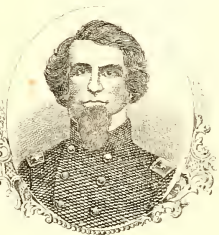
GEN WADSWORTH.



GEN F. W. LANDER.



GEN MITCHEL



BRIG. GEN. KELLY





back to the road leading to Sir John's Run, where they were further reinforced by the thirteenth Indiana and a company of Virginia cavalry, but still fell back in good order, keeping the rebels at bay with their artillery, till they reached Hancock. The rebels made no serious attempt to drive them from this place, but contented themselves with tearing up a part of the railroad track, burning the ties, and partly destroying the Little Cacapon bridge. They also burned two stores, one belonging to a Union man, the other to a secessionist, but did not capture or destroy the stores and munitions of the thirty-ninth Illinois regiment, though they were in their power. The next morning they sent a flag of truce over to Hancock, demanding its surrender within an hour, under threat of bombardment. General Lander replied by planting his cannon on a hill, and bombarding their camp, which led to their withdrawal on Tuesday. The Union loss in the whole affair was three killed and nine prisoners; the rebel loss was said to be considerably heavier.

On the 7th of January a detachment of General Kelley's forces, commanded by Colonel Dunning, fifth Ohio, left Romney, and attacked the Confederates, two thousand strong, at Blue's Gap, Va., east of Romney. The enemy were completely routed, with a loss of fifteen killed, two pieces of cannon, their wagons, tents, etc., with twenty prisoners, including one commissioned officer.

The operations of the Confederates became less energetic in that section of the state until February 13th, when their force having concentrated at Blooming Gap, it was surprised and dispersed by General Lander, with a loss of thirteen killed and seventy-five prisoners. General Lander then reported the department entirely clear of Confederates, and asked to be relieved of his command on the ground of ill-health, he having never recovered from the wound received at Edwards' Ferry. He died on the 2d of March, 1862, of congestion of the brain, induced by over exertion while still suffering from his wound.



## CHAPTER .XIV.

Navy.—Commercial Marine.—Steam Power.—Strength of the Navy.—Arrival Home of Ships.—Blockade.—Mobile.—Officers resigned.—Increase of Ships.—Purchases.—Captures by the Navy.—Gunboats.—Sloops.—Description of the Unadilla.—Right of Blockade.—Convention of Paris.—International Law.—Propositions of the American Government.—Queen's Proclamation.—The British Minister.—France.—Privateers.—Confederate Laws.—Sensation at the North.—Number of Privateers.—Depredations.—Notice of the English Government.—French Notice.—Spain.—Havana.—The Sumter.—The Nashville.—Harvey Birch.—Trial of Privateers.—Jefferson Davis' Letter.—Laws of Piracy.—Conviction of Smith.—Crew of the Savannah.—Judge Nelson.—Retaliation of the Confederates.—Northern Privateers.—Privateering in the House of Lords.—Exchange of Prisoners.—Bull Run.—General Pillow.—General Polk.—Fremont's Treaty.

THE navy of the United States, like the army, has never been kept up on a scale in any degree proportioned to the commercial interests, or the rank of the nation, as compared with other governments. The commercial marine was of itself, however, regarded as the main portion of our naval power; since in it were nurtured and trained those hardy seamen who, in time of war, man the national ships, or, as privateers, form the "militia of the seas." Any nation which has a large and thriving commerce is necessarily a naval power: on the other hand, those governments which have not a well developed commerce cannot become great naval powers, no matter what may be their resources in other respects; at least, this has heretofore been the experience of the world. The immense changes wrought by steam in naval science, however, render a far less number of trained seamen necessary to work powerful steam batteries, and may therefore alter the relative naval strength of nations. The United States

had made but little progress in this direction, and on the outbreak of the war, vessels, whether steam or sail, were by no means in sufficient supply for the exigencies of the government. On the 16th of January, 1861, the whole naval strength of the United States, available for the defence of the entire Atlantic coast, according to a report of the Congressional committee, was the steamer Brooklyn, of twenty-five guns, and the store-ship Relief, of two guns. The committee called attention to the extraordinarily defenceless state in which the coast was thus left, stating that the number of ships lying in port dismantled and unfit for service was twenty-eight, mounting 874 guns, and that from six weeks' to six months' time would be required to make them serviceable. The gradual arrival of vessels from abroad, soon imparted more strength to the coast defence. In March, the Cumberland, flag-ship of Commodore Pendergrast, arrived at Norfolk, and was detained there. Commodore M'Cauley, in command of the Norfolk navy-yard, was cautioned in the beginning of April to put the public property there in a condition to be moved, but to act so cautiously as not to excite alarm at the South. The results we have seen in a previous chapter, where the loss of the Gosport navy-yard was recounted. The government, on learning the aggressions of the Confederates, exerted itself to hasten at once the completion of all public armed vessels, and issued orders in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York to purchase, charter, arm, and equip all such steamers as could be found suitable for the public service. The whole naval force was required to carry into effect the proclamations declaring an embargo or blockade of the Southern ports. On account of the great extent of coast, 3,000 miles, the force was divided into two squadrons, one for the Gulf of Mexico and one for the Atlantic. At Hampton Roads notice was given of this blockade by flag-officer Pendergrast, and on the 13th of May flag-officer Stringham, having arrived in Hampton Roads with the Minnesota, proceeded to carry it into effect. Mean-

time the President had issued the following proclamation:

"BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

"Whereas, for the reasons assigned in my proclamation of the 19th instant, a blockade of the ports of the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas, was ordered to be established; and whereas, since that date public property of the United States has been seized, the collection of the revenue obstructed, and duly commissioned officers of the United States, while engaged in executing the orders of their superiors, have been arrested and held in custody as prisoners, or have been impeded in the discharge of their official duties, without due legal process, by persons claiming to act under authority of the states of Virginia and North Carolina, an efficient blockade of the ports of these states will therefore also be established.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington, this 27th day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

"By the President,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*"

As the government vessels returned from foreign stations, they were immediately employed in carrying out the blockade. The Niagara arrived at Boston, from Japan, April 24th, and immediately proceeded to Charleston harbor, and thence to the Gulf of Mexico, to intercept the shipment of arms and munitions from Europe to the Gulf states. Flag-officer Mervine arrived in the Gulf, June 8th, with the steamer Mississippi, in advance of his flag-ship the Colorado. The blockade of Mobile (Ala.) harbor was commenced May 27th, and Fort Morgan welcomed the blockading fleet by displaying the United States flag, with the Union down, below the Confederate flag, on the same staff.

The Cumberland, Pawnee, Monticello, and Yankee were enforcing the blockade off Fortress Monroe. The Yankee pursued an armed schooner up York River, but after proceeding a short distance, was fired upon from a concealed battery, and compelled to return.

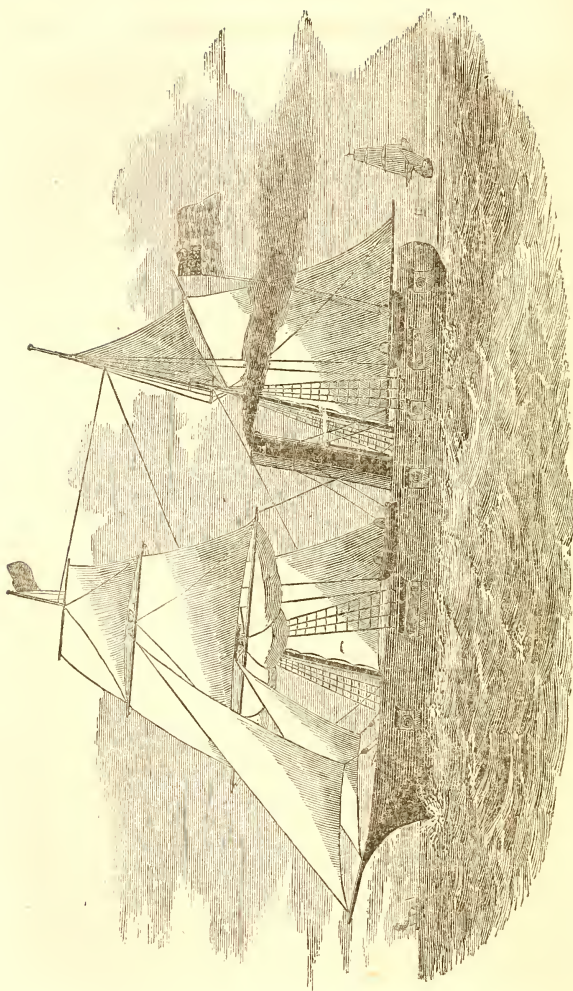
The steamers Philadelphia, Baltimore, Powhatan, and

Mount Vernon, of the Aquia Creek line, recently taken possession of by the Federal government, were cruising on the Potomac, all heavily armed.

In chapter, IX. we have given the condition of the navy as stated in the report of the secretary, July 4th, to Congress. According to that report, from March 4th to July, 259 officers had resigned from the navy. This number, with those that previously gave up their commission, made 330 that left the service after November, 1860. For this reason many vessels were without a full complement of officers. There were, however, numbers who, having in times past left the service for civil pursuits, came promptly forward to offer their services, and many masters and masters' mates were taken from the mercantile service. So promptly did seamen present themselves that only two or three vessels experienced any detention for want of crews. The navy underwent a most rapid increase, as well in men as vessels. The aggregate of the purchases up to January, 1862, was as follows:—

	No.	Guns.	Tons.	Total Cost.	Cost Each.
Steamers, side-wheel.....	36	160	26,680	\$2,418,103	\$12,000 to \$200,000
"    screw .....	42	170	19,985	2,187,537	5,000 to 172,500
Ships.....	13	52	9,993	313,503	7,000 to 40,000
Barks .....	17	73	8,136	343,400	11,500 to 32,000
Schooners .....	25	50	5,453	241,790	6,000 to 18,000
Barges.....	2	4	460	19,000	9,000 to 10,000

The side-wheel vessels carried from one to ten guns each, the screws from one to nine, the ships one to eight. Of the side-wheel steamers, nine were first-class ships. Among the steamers were eighteen ferry-boats, bought from the Brooklyn and New Jersey ferry companies. The armed vessels, in the operation of enforcing the blockade, captured a considerable number of vessels, from April to November. Of these there were seven ships, twelve barks, nine brigs, one hundred and fifteen schooners, eight sloops, and seven not designated, including the steamer Salvor loaded with arms from Havana for Tampa Bay. Some of them were recaptured vessels, and some of them privateers, as the Savannah, which was captured by the



GUNBOAT.

Perry, and being sold by the marshal for \$1,250, was bought by the Federal government, and is included among the schooners in the above table.

The vessels purchased were, however, none of them suitable for the blockading service, which required continuous duty off the coast in all weathers. The department therefore contracted for the construction of twenty-three gunboats, of five hundred tons each, and made arrangements for larger and faster vessels, in addition to taking steps toward carrying out the order of Congress of the preceding session, for the construction of seven sloops of war. Of these latter, two were directed to be built at each navy-yard, Portsmouth, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, making eight. The following table gives the names, character, and cost of the vessels built:

14 SCREW SLOOPS, 1,200 TONS EACH, CARRYING 7 GUNS.

Name.	Place built.	Builder of hull.	Price of hull.	Builder of machinery.	Price of machinery.
Kearsarge,	Portsmouth,	Government,		Woodruff & Beach,	\$104,000
Ossipee,	"	"		{ Reliance Machine Co., Mystic,	{ 93,000
Sacramento,	"	"		{ Taunton Locomotive Co.,	{ 117,000
Wachusett,	Boston,	"		Geo. W. Quintard,	104,000
Housatonic,	"	"		J. Corry & Co.,	110,000
Canandaigua,	"	"		Atlantic Works,	110,000
Adirondack,	New York,	"		Novelty Works,	125,000
Ticonderoga,	"	"		Allaire Works,	110,000
Oncida,	"	"		Murphy & Co.,	102,000
Lackawanna,	"	"		Geo. W. Quintard,	110,000
Juniata,	Philadelphia,	"		Pusey, Jones & Co.,	95,000
Tuscarora,	"	"		Merrick & Sons,	102,000
Monongahela,	"	"		"	110,000
Shenandoah,	"	"		"	110,000

24 SCREW GUNBOATS, 500 TONS EACH, CARRYING 4 GUNS.

Tahoma,	Wilmington, Del.,	W. & A. Thatcher,	\$53,500	Reany & Archbold,	46,500
Wissahickon,	Philadelphia,	John Lynn,	53,500	Merrick & Sons,	45,000
Sciota,	"	Jacob Birely,	52,000	J. P. Morris & Co.,	44,000
Itasca,	"	Hillman & Streaker,	53,000	"	45,000
Unadilla,	New York,	John Englis,	56,500	Novelty Works,	81,500
Ottawa,	"	J. A. Westervelt,	56,500	"	81,500
Pembina,	"	Thomas Stack,	56,500	"	81,500
Seneca,	"	J. Simonson,	56,500	"	81,500
Chippewa,	"	Webb & Bell,	55,000	Morgan	46,000
Winona,	"	C. & R. Poillon,	55,000	Allaire	46,000
Owasco,	Mystic River,	Maxon, Fish & Co.,	53,000	Novelty	46,000
Kanawha,	East Haddam,	E. G. & W. H. Goodspeed,	52,000	Pacific	45,500
Cayuga,	* Portland, Conn.,	Gildersleeve & Son,	52,000	Woodruff & Beach,	45,500
Huron,	Boston,	Paul Curtis,	55,000	H. Loring,	46,000
Chocoma,	"	Curtis & Tilden,	53,000	"	45,000
Sagamore,	"	A. & G. Sampson,	55,000	Atlantic Works,	46,000
Marblehead,	Newburyport,	G. W. Jackman, jr.,	52,000	Highland	43,000
Kennebec,	Thomaston, Me.,	G. W. Lawrence,	52,000	Novelty	45,500



Name.	Place built.	Builder of hull.	Price of hull.	Builder of machinery.	Price of machinery.
Aroostook,	Kennebec,	N. W. Thompson,	53,000	Novelty Works,	47,500
Kineo,	Portland,	J. W. Dyer,	52,000	Morgan	46,500
Katahdin,	Bath,	Larrabee & Allen,	52,000	"	45,500
Penobscot,	Belfast,	C. P. Carter,	52,000	Allaire	45,000
Pinola,	Baltimore,	J. J. Abrahams,	52,000	C. Reeder,	46,000

## 12 SIDE-WHEEL STEAMERS, 700 TONS EACH, CARRYING 4 GUNS.

Sebago,	Portsmouth,	Government,	Novelty Works,	50,000
Mohaska,	"	"	Morgan	50,000
Sonoma,	"	"	Novelty	50,000
Conemaugh,	"	"	"	50,000
Maratanza,	Boston,	"	H. Loring,	48,000
Tioga,	"	"	Morgan Works,	50,000
Genesee,	"	"	Neptune	48,000
Octorara,	New York,	"	"	48,000
Port Royal,	"	Thomas Stack,	Vessel complete,	100,000
Miami,	Philadelphia,	Government,	Merrick & Sons,	48,000
Cimerone,	Bordentown, N. J.,	D. S. Merchon,	Complete,	100,000
Paul Jones,	Baltimore,	J. J. Abrahams,	Reany & Archbold,	50,000

## 3 IRON-CLAD STEAMERS, 1,500 TONS EACH, CARRYING 2, 12, AND 18 GUNS.

Galena,	Mystic,	Bushnell & Co.,	Complete for	235,000
Monitor,	New York,	John Ericsson,	"	280,000
Ironsides,	Philadelphia,	Merrick & Sons,	"	750,000

The names of most of this new fleet are of Indian origin, imparting at least "an odor of nationality," if they are not easily borne in mind. The first of the gunboats launched was the Unadilla, August 17th, and thirty days later she made a very satisfactory trial trip. A description of her construction will serve for that of all. Her length is one hundred and sixty-eight feet, width twenty-eight feet, and depth of hold twelve feet. She is schooner rigged. There are two engines, which were furnished by the Novelty Works, each complete in itself. They are what is termed back action; the cylinders are thirty inches in diameter, with an eighteen-inch stroke; the boilers are of the vertical tubular form; there are fifty-two feet of grate surface, and two thousand feet of heating surface. The propeller is nine feet in diameter, with a mean pitch of twelve feet; the shaft is sixty-four feet long. There is accommodation for over one hundred and fifty tons of coal on board. She averaged nine miles an hour, the boiler showing twenty-eight pounds of steam, and the propeller making seventy-five to eighty revolutions per minute. With the aid of canvas her speed was estimated at fifteen miles per hour.

As the strength of the Federal navy increased, greater



effect was given to those proclamations of the President by which a blockade of the Southern coast was established. Out of this right of blockade, however, grew many interesting questions, particularly in respect to the effectiveness of the blockade. The authority of the President to institute a blockade at all was, in some quarters, denied. It was insisted that this power, under the constitution, could exist only in the legislature. The Circuit Court of Washington, however, held that the President was commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and, as such, had a right to employ them in the manner he deemed most effectual to subdue the enemy; as chief of the navy he had an undoubted right to order a ship to capture an enemy's vessel, and to shut up his port is only another mode of attack. The facts set forth in the proclamation show that civil war exists. Blockade is a belligerent right, and can only legally have place in a state of war. A sovereign nation, engaged in the duty of suppressing an insurrection of its citizens, may act in the twofold capacity of sovereign and belligerent. By inflicting through the judiciary the penalty which the law affixes to the crimes of treason and piracy upon those found guilty of those offences, it acts in its capacity of sovereign. By instituting a blockade of the ports of its rebellious subjects, and enforcing that measure by capturing its vessels and cargoes, and capturing the vessels of any or all nations that shall attempt to violate the blockade, it is exercising a belligerent right, and the courts in adjudication of prizes are organized as prize-courts.

The question was also raised whether a nation could blockade its own ports and collect duties, since the constitution declares that no preference shall be given to one port over another, and treaties with foreign powers gave them the right of visiting our ports.

These questions of blockade and the rights under it were much discussed abroad, since it was the first case under the new reading of international law adopted at Paris against Russia, in 1854, and afterward confirmed in 1856. The

old law of blockade, introduced by Holland as far back as 1580, consisted simply in a diplomatic notice that such or such a place was blockaded, without much effort to make it real. When England succeeded to the supremacy of the seas, she had greatly developed and extended this system, so much so, that whenever she was at war the interests of neutral nations became more precarious than even those of the enemy. In the wars with Napoleon the whole French coast was declared under blockade by Great Britain. The proclamation was notified to all neutral nations, who were thenceforth to abstain from all intercourse with the interdicted territory. Allied to this belligerent right, also, was that of seizing enemies' goods on board neutral vessels; also, neutral goods found in enemies' vessels. In the progress of civilization these remains of barbarism came to be modified, and in 1854, on the occasion of the war with Russia, the various powers agreed that blockades, to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by forces sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy. The same convention had abolished privateering in time of war. On the return of peace, in 1856, it was agreed to, in the declaration of Paris, by Austria, France, Great Britain, Sardinia, Prussia, Russia and Turkey. The whole declaration was then submitted to the United States. Mr. Marcy, then secretary of state, in Mr. Pierce's administration, objected to the clause which abolished privateering. "It is," said he, "not the policy of the United States to maintain vast standing armies and navies. When, unfortunately, we go to war, we depend upon our people to protect us on the land, and on our ship-owners to defend us on the water. If you will make all private property exempt from capture at sea, we will cease privateering; but why ask us to abolish it, while you maintain and send out your great ships of war, which are neither more nor less than privateers? They go forth to do exactly the same things as the ships we license in time of war to burn, plunder, and destroy. Make all private

property exempt from capture at sea, and then we will agree that privateering shall cease." The English government would not agree to this, although the view had many advocates in England. The discussion was continued, and it was proposed, by Mr. Buchanan, that the law of blockade should also be modified in so far that it should be confined to national vessels, and naval arsenals and towns which were at the same time invested by an army on the land; that all merchant vessels, with their cargoes, should be free to pass in and out. In 1859 Mr. Cass sent a circular to this effect to the representatives of the United States at all the European capitals. The British government replied that "the system of commercial blockade is essential to our naval supremacy." It is somewhat remarkable, however, that in the case of the Russian war the allies acted on the principle proposed by Mr. Buchanan. That war was declared in March, 1854, but the ports of Southern Russia were not declared in a state of blockade until March, 1855. The allies temporized for a year with their right and power to close the commercial ports of the Black Sea, whilst carrying on the most sanguinary struggle before the naval arsenal of Sebastopol, in order to allow the exportation of food from Russia, to make good the deficient harvests of England and France. Upward of half a million quarters of grain reached England from that region in 1854. Here, at least, is a precedent for the policy of restricting blockades to fortified places, and leaving commercial ports unmolested. The reason is apparent, that to stop the export of grain from Russia, though it would have injured the peasantry of that country, would have injured England still more, for the want of that grain. For the same reason, had war unfortunately broken out between the United States and England, there is no doubt but that cotton would have been allowed to pass, because it would have injured England more to do without it than America not to sell it. It is apparent, from these facts, that, had the proposition of Mr. Marcy, in relation to private property

and privateers, and Mr. Cass's proposition in relation to blockade, been accepted by England and the other powers, they would have suffered no inconvenience from the present war, since their vessels would have had access to the Southern ports, whence, also, no privateers would have issued. When the blockade was instituted, the British government recognized it as a belligerent right, and the Queen issued a proclamation enjoining the strictest neutrality. The British minister, in reply to some merchants of Liverpool who proposed fitting out vessels to trade to New Orleans, in the belief that under the treaty they had a right to enter any port of the United States, and that the attempt to enforce the blockade against British ships was an infringement of national law, stated:—

“The United States and the so-called Confederate States are engaged in a civil war, and her Majesty's government has recognized that state of things, and has taken up a position of neutrality between the contending parties. Under these circumstances, if any British ship, being a neutral, knowingly attempts to break an effective blockade, she is liable to capture and condemnation.”

In France, application was also made to the minister, and he replied more at length to the same effect as the English minister. Complaint was made that no notification was given to the ministers of the several powers that the blockade was instituted, but this was not considered essential to its validity, if it was effective. Fifteen days were allowed, after the establishment of the blockade, for vessels to come out of the ports. It appears that whether they were loaded or not at the time the blockade was established, provided they came out within fifteen days, their passage was allowed. On the other hand, it is not permitted by the United States government that vessels should be sent to ports which are blockaded for the purpose of bringing away the property of British subjects, or the vessels or property of other nations. An application for such permission was made, to which the secretary of state replied that if such a facility were granted it would

be used by American citizens wishing to bring away property. The chief object of the government, in the prompt laying of the blockade, was to prevent the egress of privateers that might prey upon the Northern commerce. The proclamation of Jefferson Davis to grant "letters of marque," had been followed, May 6th, by the act of the Confederate Congress recognizing the existence of war between the United States and the Confederate States, and authorizing privateers. The act gave effect to the proclamation of Davis, and regulated the action of privateers and the prize-courts for the adjudication of prizes.

The announcement of this privateering policy produced a great sensation at the North, where there was so much at risk. There were, nevertheless, two great difficulties in the way of privateers. One was the want of vessels, and the other the want of some place where prizes could be carried for condemnation. It was soon ascertained, however, that a number of vessels, mostly those taken from the government, and others that had been captured, were at the command of the Confederates, and were being fitted for cruising. A number of them ran the blockade and proceeded to prey upon commerce. In the course of the year there were fitted out fifty-four privateers, and the Confederates had also about twelve steamers, ranging from one thousand to twelve hundred tons, capable of being converted into war vessels, and also some thirty transports. Among those which ran the blockade was the Aiken, which was a revenue cutter, surrendered by its commander to the Charleston authorities, just previous to the fall of Sumter. She was refitted, and, under the name of Petrel, ran the blockade in July, but was immediately captured by the frigate St. Lawrence, which the Petrel mistaking for a merchant vessel ran down for, and when within range was crushed by the frigate's broadside. The Calhoun was a side-wheel steamer of one thousand and fifty-eight tons, carrying one twenty-four pound gun and two eighteen-pound Dahlgrens. She was commanded by George N.

Hollins, and made numerous captures. She was afterward the flag-ship of commander Hollins in the attack on the Union fleet in the Mississippi, October 11th. The steamer W. H. Webb, formerly a New York tow-boat of six hundred and fifty tons, and the Dixie, a schooner of one hundred and fifty tons, were also busy. The Jeff. Davis, Captain Coxsetter, ran north as far as the Nantucket Shoals, making many prizes on her way, but was soon after lost at St. Augustine, Florida. The Bonita, a New York brig, the Sallie, a schooner, formerly the Virginia of Brookhaven, and many more, committed depredations upon Northern commerce to the extent of more than one hundred vessels and several millions of dollars. Many of these prizes were carried into the Southern ports and condemned in the prize courts.

When the Confederate authorities had proposed to issue letters of marque, little attention was paid to the matter, under the supposition that they had neither the facilities to equip vessels nor the power to break the blockade. The prompt appearance of the vessels on the ocean compelled the European powers immediately to define their positions in relation to them. The ground taken was, as in the case of recognizing the blockade, to regard both parties as belligerents, and to apply the same rules to the vessels of each. On the 1st of June the English government issued a proclamation containing the following clause :

“In order to give full effect to this principle (neutrality), her Majesty has been pleased to interdict the armed ships, and also the privateers of both parties, from carrying prizes made by them into the ports, harbors, and roadsteads, or waters of the United Kingdom, or any of her Majesty's colonies or possessions abroad.”

The French government decreed that no vessel of war, or privateer of either party, should be allowed to remain in a French port more than twenty-four hours, and forbidding any sale of goods belonging to prizes. The Spanish government issued a similar decree.

These regulations much circumscribed the Confederate action ; but at Havana it was notified :

“Vessels bearing the Confederate flag are allowed to enter Cuban ports under their own flags, to discharge and take away cargoes, and do all other things of business necessity, with the same privileges as favored nations, but without recognition of the new nationality.”

The two most important of the Confederate war vessels were the Sumter and the Nashville, because of the extent of their operations and their long continued impunity. The first named had been the Marquis de la Habana, and had belonged to General Miramon. She had been captured off Vera Cruz, March 5th, 1860, by the United States sloop-of-war Saratoga, for refusing to show her colors and firing into the latter when hailed ; and being carried to New Orleans, she was subsequently taken possession of by the Confederate government, and fitted for sea under command of Raphael Semmes. She had a crew of sixty-five men and twenty-five marines, and seven guns, of which the largest one had a range of two thousand yards. Her appearance, when the smoke stack was lowered, and that was often the case for disguise, was that of a clumsily rigged bark. Her commander possessed remarkable boldness and energy. On the morning of the 30th of June, she left the Mississippi, vainly pursued by the United States steamer Brooklyn. She made a number of prizes and sent them in to Cienfuegos, but they were not allowed to remain. The Sumter coaled at that port, however, and sailed on July 7th. She continued in the West Indies making prizes and coaling in the different ports, pursued by the United States steamer Powhatan from port to port, until November, when she ran into Martinique for supplies, which the government refused, but permitted her to buy them of the English merchants at St. Pierre. While there the United States gunboat Iroquois, Captain Palmer, made her appearance to effect her capture. The local government, however, interposed to prevent any infraction of belligerent rights, and detained the Iroquois until twenty-four hours after



the departure of the Sumter. She then crossed the ocean, and ultimately arrived at Tangiers, Africa, where some of her officers were seized by the American consul, and sent home.

The Nashville ran the blockade on the night of October 26th, and excited much attention by the rumor that she carried out Messrs. Slidell and Mason, the Confederate commissioners to Europe. This rumor was, however, a blind to cover the actual departure of the commissioners in the Theodora. The Nashville was a side-wheel steamer of one thousand two hundred and twenty tons, belonging to the New York and Charleston line of steamers, and was of great speed. She had a crew of eighty men, and carried two long twelve-pound rifled cannon, and was commanded by Captain Pegram, formerly of the United States navy. She arrived at Bermuda in three and a half days, where she coaled from private sources, the government refusing supplies. On the 5th of November she sailed for England. On the 19th of November she fell in with and captured the ship Harvey Birch, Captain Nelson, from Havre for New York, three days out. The captain and crew were taken as prisoners of war, and the ship, a vessel of one thousand four hundred tons, was destroyed by fire. She then proceeded to Southampton, where the prisoners were set at liberty with all their effects. The Nashville remained a long time in the English port to refit, being pursued thither and watched by the United States steamer Tuscarora. They were both ultimately ordered to leave the port, to prevent an infraction of the neutrality laws, the Tuscarora being compelled to give the Nashville a start of twenty-four hours.

As the Federal navy increased in strength, the number of privateers became less, and their depredations almost altogether ceased. There remained, however, the question of the mode of treatment for those captured. On the 3d of June, the crew (twenty men) of the schooner Savannah were captured by the United States brig Perry, and car

ried into New York, in irons, to await trial for piracy. William Smith, one of the crew of the Jeff. Davis privateer, had also been captured and sent to Philadelphia for trial. These two trials took place on the same day, viz., October 22d. Soon after their capture, July 6th, Jefferson Davis sent a dispatch to President Lincoln, stating, that should any of those prisoners be executed, he would retaliate, man for man, and he proposed to exchange these prisoners. The seamen of the Jeff. Davis were tried before Judges Grier and Cadwallader, who charged the jury to the effect that "they could not be regarded as privateers, because they acted under a government that had not been recognized."

The law in relation to piracy had been laid down in Boston, May 16th, by Judge Sprague in a charge to the grand jury. He cited the laws of Congress of 1790, 1820, 1825, 1846 and 1847, as to what constitutes the general crime of piracy. These laws were based on the power of Congress to define and punish piracy. But he was of opinion that the power to regulate commerce afforded basis for additional penal enactments. These laws, being constitutionally made by Congress, cannot be impaired by the acts of any state or states. No man breaking these laws under state authority can escape the consequences. But if states band together and make war, their authority to commence privateering cannot be recognized by the judiciary until the government has conceded to them belligerent rights. As long as the government refuses to do this, the judiciary can only regard the acts of the individuals as piracy. The judge held further, that if a citizen of the United States should commit depredations upon its commerce, under a commission even from France or England, he would be dealt with as a pirate under the act of 1790; and citizens of foreign countries which have treaties with the United States, such as are alluded to by the law of 1847, may be deemed pirates, if they, under a commission from any foreign government, cruise against the United

States. The charge of Judge Grier sustained these views, and Smith was convicted of piracy.

The trial of the Savannah crew, of whom eight were foreigners, was had before Judges Nelson and Shipman, in New York. Judge Nelson charged, that a pirate, by the law of nations, was one that cruised against the vessels of all nations; as the prisoners only cruised against one, the United States, their crime fell short of piracy; but still, under the act of 1820, they were pirates. The commission of Jefferson Davis could not be set up or defended, because the United States did not recognize such authority. Again, a pirate was one who depredated for private gain; if this motive was wanting, in respect to the prisoners, their crime was not piracy. The jury could not agree, and a new trial was ordered. The views of all the judges seemed to centre in one point, viz., that the judiciary had no recourse but to condemn them under the act, inasmuch as their acts were piracy under existing laws, and the authority on which the men acted was not recognized by the government. Meantime, pending these trials, the Confederate government ordered the selection of a number of men from the Richmond prisons, by lot, to be dealt with in the same manner as the privateers should be dealt with. The choice fell on Colonel Corcoran, of the New York sixty-ninth regiment, and others captured at Bull Run. The Federal government, under these circumstances, delayed the execution of these prisoners.

While these events were transpiring, R. B. Forbes and others, of Boston, applied for authority to arm the propeller Pembroke, about to sail for China, as a privateer. The secretary replied, that the power to do so might be found under the act of August 5th, 1861, empowering the President to authorize "commanders of any suitable vessels to subdue, seize," &c. It does not appear, however, that any vessels were armed under that authority.

The proclamation of the President in relation to treating privateers as pirates, created much sensation in Eng-

land, and on May 16th a debate on the question took place in the House of Lords. The Earl of Derby said that privateers were not pirates by the law of nations, and no one nation could make it so. "He knew the United States treated the privateers as mere rebels, and liable to the penalties of treason. That was not the doctrine in this country, because we have declared that they have belligerent rights. The Northern states could not claim belligerent rights for themselves, and deal with the other parties as rebels."

Lord Brougham said, "it was very clear that privateering was not piracy." Lord Kingsdown said the United States dealt with the privateers as rebels. "He believed the enforcement of that doctrine would be an act of barbarity which would produce an outcry throughout the civilized world." The English government, however, took no active steps in the matter, and the question soon resolved itself into one respecting the exchange of prisoners.

The question of exchange of prisoners early forced itself upon the notice of the government, since great numbers on both sides were captured in the first conflict of arms. The government had the undoubted right to punish those captured as traitors, taken in the act of levying war upon the government. To pursue this course, however, would provoke retribution, and would cause the war to degenerate into a savage contest. Many of the bravest and most devoted Northern troops were captives in the hands of the enemy, and their lives could not be lightly held by the government, since men could not be expected to volunteer in a service, where to be captured was to encounter the halter. On the other hand, the government hesitated to systematize the exchange of prisoners according to the laws of war, lest it might be construed into an acknowledgment of the belligerent rights of the Confederate States. The necessity of exchange became, however, urgent. The friends of those who were languishing in Southern prisons, were kept anxious by the rumors of barbarities there com-

mitted, and were clamorous that something should be done for their relief. By effecting an exchange of prisoners, no rights of sovereignty are conceded. There is a well defined distinction recognized by the United States courts, between necessary intercourse and admission of rights. By exchanging prisoners nothing is conceded but what is patent to the world, viz., that active war exists, and that it should be conducted by a Christian people according to the usages of civilized nations.

Previous to the battle of Bull Run, the number of prisoners on either side was not large. By that disaster 1,400 Northern troops became prisoners. It was then that the threat of retaliation was held out in respect to the privateers. In view of this fact, the question of punishment could no longer be entertained. The Confederates had, from time to time, released prisoners on parole, and a sort of tacit exchange took place. Fifty-seven wounded soldiers were sent home from Richmond. In response, twenty Confederates, mostly of North Carolina, were released from New York and sent home on taking the oath not to bear arms. At Washington thirty-seven prisoners were released on taking the oath. In this informal manner, numbers were, from time to time, discharged on either side. On the third of September, a formal interchange of prisoners took place between General Pillow and Colonel Wallace. This was followed, on the 12th of October, by a proposition from General Polk, commanding at Columbus, Kentucky, to General Grant, to exchange prisoners according to the terms of the exchange between General Pillow and Colonel Wallace. General Grant did not think proper to comply, on the ground that he recognized no "Southern Confederacy." On the 23d of October, General McClelland, understanding the necessities of the case, sent Colonel Buford to General Polk, offering to release three Confederate prisoners. General Polk wished to make a general arrangement, but Colonel Buford having no authority, General Polk released, unconditionally, sixteen Union prisoners on

this occasion. While the prisoners were being got ready, Colonel Buford proposed the sentiment, "Washington and his principles," which met with hearty approbation by all present, including Generals Polk and Pillow with their staffs. On the 8th of November General Grant sent to General Polk, by Major Webster, to ask leave to care for the wounded left on the field. General Polk replied that "his own feelings would prompt him to waive any unimportant affectation of declining to recognize these states as belligerents," but that the matter belonged to the secretary of war. The treaty made by General Fremont with General Price, on the 1st of November, provided for the exchange of prisoners, in terms as follows :

"And the parties so named are hereby authorized, whenever applied to for that purpose, to negotiate for the exchange of any and all persons who may hereafter be taken prisoners of war and released on parole ; such exchanges to be made upon the plan heretofore approved and acted upon, to wit : grade for grade, or two officers of lower grade as an equivalent in rank for one of a higher grade, as shall be thought just and equitable."

This was repudiated by General Hunter on the 7th of November. Shortly afterward commissioners were appointed by the Federal government to proceed to the Confederate States, and examine into the condition of the Union prisoners. They were, however, refused admission, and the fate of prisoners was left to the discretion of each commander, who exchanged at his will. These exchanges became more frequent, and in such a manner as to mitigate in some degree the rigors of war.

## CHAPTER XV.

improved Efficiency of the Navy.—Expeditions.—Hatteras.—Ocracoke Inlet.—The Fanny.—Chicamacómicó.—Port Royal.—Commodore Dupont.—Expedition organized.—General Sherman.—The Force.—The Fleet.—The Storm.—Confederate Fortifications.—Line of Battle.—The Assault.—The Wabash.—The Enemy.—The Victory.—Troops Landed.—Proclamation.—The Blacks employed.—Cotton picked.—Stone Fleet.—Ship Island—Its Position.—Defences.—Fort Twiggs.—The Expedition.—General Butler.—The Troops.—General Phelps.—His Proclamation.—More Troops.—Burnside's Expedition.—Fort Pickens.—Galveston.—Combat on the Mississippi.—Effectiveness of the Blockade.

WE have seen in a former chapter, in relation to the tactical aspect of the present war, that the South occupying a central position, and the North the circumference of the theatre of operations, it was necessary to close the circle by the occupation of the leading points of the sea-coast, with strong detachments. This necessary operation was long delayed through the want of a sufficient number of available vessels in the navy, at a time when a large number were required to maintain an efficient blockade over an extended coast line. As soon, however, as a moderate blockading squadron was supplied, attention was turned to the organization of a series of expeditions, having for their object the capture of the best harbors on the coast, and the taking possession of extended tracts of country in their vicinity.

When General Wool took command at Fortress Monroe, August 13th, he found preparations in progress for the expedition to Hatteras Inlet, of which the details are given in Chapter XI., and the results of which were the occupation of that point by the Union forces, on the 30th of September; a fortification called Fort Oregon, at Ocracoke Inlet, fifteen miles below Hatteras, was abandoned by



the Confederates, and destroyed by the Union troops. On the 2d of October, the steam-tug *Fanny*, with her two brass guns, and thirty-five of the New York ninth volunteers, together with a considerable quantity of stores, was captured by the Confederates. On the 4th, the twentieth Indiana, stationed at Chicamacomico, thirty miles above Hatteras, were attacked, and a considerable number of them made prisoners. The next day, the Monticello and Susquehanna ran down and shelled the Confederates, killing a number, and driving the remainder to their boats.

The Hatteras expedition having proved successful, the United States government undertook a larger and more formidable one. The finest harbor on the Southern coast is that of Port Royal, South Carolina—a broad estuary, formed by the junction of Broad and Port Royal rivers, and Archer's creek, and their *debouchure* into the Atlantic. The interlacing of these and other rivers has formed a large group of islands, of which Hilton Head, Hunting, St. Helena, Paris, and Port Royal are the principal. This harbor is equidistant from Charleston on the north and Savannah on the south, with both of which cities it has an interior water communication. The parish of which these islands form a part is the richest agricultural district in South Carolina. The population is about thirty-nine thousand, of which thirty-two thousand are blacks. The chief production is the long staple cotton, known as sea island, used for the first class of cotton goods, and produced only along the coasts of South Carolina, Georgia, and Texas. Rice is also largely cultivated. The village of Beaufort, and the adjacent country on the islands, was the summer residence of the wealthy planters of South Carolina. This harbor, after consultation with Commodore Dupont,\* was

\* Samuel F. Dupont is a native of New Jersey, where he was born in 1802. He entered the navy in 1815, and served under Commodore Shubrick in California, where with one hundred men he attacked and routed five hundred Mexicans. He commanded the *Minnesota* on the China coast in 1858-9, with great success. In 1859 he was commander of the Philadelphia navy-yard, and in 1861 flag-officer of the Port Royal expedition.

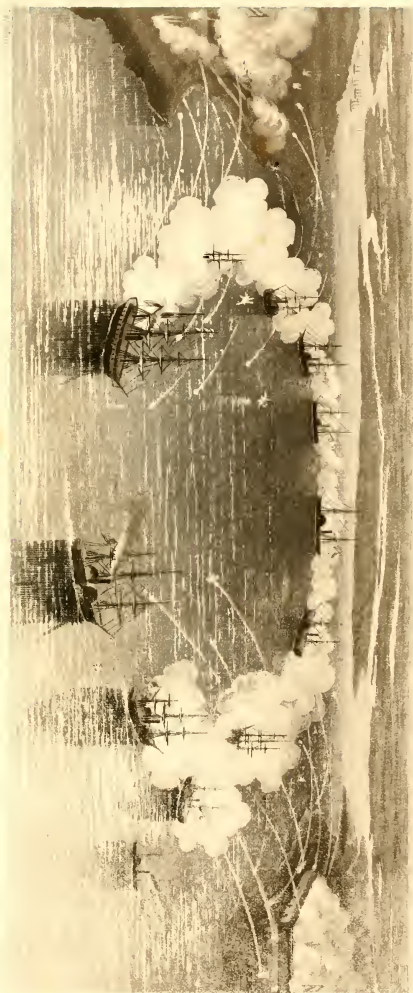
fixed upon as the best point from which to move either north or south. The preparations were on a very extensive scale, and required a longer time for the completion of all its equipments than was at first expected. It finally took its departure, October 29th. On the day previous, twenty-five coal vessels, to supply the necessary fuel, had been dispatched. The expedition consisted of fifty vessels, including thirty-three transports; the naval command being under Commodore Dupont. The military commander was Major-General T. W. Sherman.\* The force was composed of three brigades, numbering fifteen thousand men, under Brigadier-Generals Egbert L. Vielé, Isaac I. Stevens, and Horatio G. Wright.

The composition of the brigades was as follows:

First Brigade.	Second Brigade.	Third Brigade.
3d New Hampshire.	8th Michigan.	6th Connecticut.
8th Maine.	50th Pennsylvania.	7th Connecticut.
46th New York.	Roundhead, Penn.	9th Maine.
47th New York.	79th New York (High-	4th New Hampshire.
48th New York.	landers).	3d Rhode Island.

These were accompanied by Hamilton's (late Sherman's) battery of six rifled guns, and a battalion of Serrell's volunteer engineers. When the fleet left Hampton Roads, the weather was very unsettled, and the wind increased in violence until on Friday, November 1st, it became a perfect hurricane from the south-east, scattering the ships so widely, that on Saturday morning but one of the whole fleet was in sight from the deck of the Wabash. On Sun

\* Thomas W. Sherman was born in Rhode Island, in 1816; graduated at West Point in 1836 as second-lieutenant third artillery; first-lieutenant, 1838; captain in May, 1846; served in Mexico, and was made major in February, 1847, for gallant conduct at Buena Vista. He resigned his place in the army in 1853, and became president of the Louisiana State Military Institute. On the increase of the army under the ten-regiment bill, he was made lieutenant-colonel of the fifth artillery. After the taking of Fort Sumter, he came north, and was commissioned colonel of the thirteenth United States infantry, and a few days later a brigadier-general of volunteers, in which capacity he led the third brigade at Bull Run, and acted in concert with Commodore Dupont in the first great naval expedition. General Sherman is now commander of a division in the army of Ohio.





day, the wind having moderated, the vessels began to reappear. The Governor and Peerless, transports, had sunk, and the Isaac Smith had thrown her armament overboard, to save the vessel. Only seven lives had been lost. On the 4th, twenty-five vessels anchored off Port Royal bar. The channel was immediately sounded, and buoyed out. The Confederate fortifications were Fort Walker on Hilton Head, at the right of the channel, a strong earthwork, mounting twenty-three guns of the heaviest calibre, some of them rifled, and several of them imported from England during the war. On the left bank of the channel was Fort Beauregard, at Bay Point, on Hunting Island, and two and a half miles distant from Fort Walker. It mounted twenty guns, and was supported by an outwork of five guns half a mile distant. About two miles above the forts, where Port Royal river joins the Broad, was a fleet of six or seven gunboats under Commodore Tatnall. There was also a strong land force under General Drayton. Under the circumstances it was determined to reduce Fort Walker first, and on the 7th of November, at nine o'clock, the flag-ship Wabash signalled to form in the order of battle. The flag-ship led the main column, and the Bienville the starboard column, having her position on the Susquehanna's starboard quarter, and maintaining it during the entire action. They were drawn up in the following order :

Main Column.	Starboard Column.
Wabash,	Bienville,
Susquehanna,	Seneca,
Mohican,	Curlew,
Seminole,	Penguin,
Pawnee,	Ottawa,
Unadilla,	Vandalia.
Pembina.	

The arrangement of the ships was a work of speedy accomplishment. They presented a noble and magnificent spectacle as they made the entrance of the Port Royal channel. At the point between the forts, it is twenty-five hundred yards wide. As the fleet moved up, the rebel

batteries on both sides of the river opened fire on the head of the column, with heavy guns of long range.

At ten minutes past ten, the Wabash fired simultaneously on both Forts Walker and Beauregard, sending a broadside at each. Each volley fell in front of the batteries, and ploughed up the sand furiously.

The Wabash proceeded, sailing in an ellipse, delivering her fire as she passed slowly down within six hundred yards of Fort Walker, deliberately and without losing the range, and approached the shore as closely as the soundings would admit. The soundings were given regularly, as upon an ordinary occasion; signals were made continually, and the rain of fire from this ship (the Wabash) fell upon the fort with all the cool precision of target-practice.

The second column meanwhile had passed up on the left side of the channel, pouring their broadsides into Fort Beauregard, and then taking a station to cut off Tatnall's fleet from any participation in the fight, and at the same time keep up a flanking fire on Fort Walker.

Three circuits of the channel were taken. At each circuit a broadside was opened upon the fort opposite. In this way the whole force of the fleet was brought to bear upon the enemy with irresistible effect, each vessel delivering its shot as it came in front of the fort.

The enemy was by no means inactive, but offered a stubborn and heroic resistance. That his marksmanship was good, the torn hulls and cut rigging of our vessels, rather than the number of killed on board, furnished full evidence.

At the end of the third circuit the guns of the forts were mostly disabled. The Commodore almost simultaneously received confirmation of the tidings from several sources, and even while listening to the words of the messengers, the rebels struck their flag.

The signal to cease firing was at once hoisted, at precisely a quarter to three o'clock, the bombardment having been nearly five hours in progress.

The flag-ship lowered a boat and sent it ashore, carrying a flag of truce in the bow, to inquire if the enemy had surrendered. Commander John Rodgers, a passenger on the Wabash, who had come down to join his vessel, the Flag, now blockading off Charleston, and had been acting during the fight as aide to Commodore Dupont, was assigned the duty of taking the flag ashore. Himself and crew were unarmed, but they found no one to receive them. He planted the American ensign upon the deserted ramparts, and another and larger star-spangled banner was afterward displayed upon the flag-staff of a building a few rods to the left, where the rebel standard had waved during the combat, and whence it had just been taken down.

The troops were immediately landed and took possession of the forts. The Federal loss was eight killed and twenty-three wounded. The Confederate loss was not ascertained. Forty-eight cannon were taken.

After landing and taking possession of the forts, General Sherman issued the following proclamation:

**"TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH CAROLINA:**

"In obedience to the orders of the President of the United States of America, I have landed on your shores with a small force of national troops. The dictates of a duty which under the constitution I owe to a great sovereign state, and to a proud and hospitable people among whom I have passed some of the pleasantest days of my life, prompt me to proclaim that we have come among you with no feelings of personal animosity; no desire to harm your citizens, destroy your property, or interfere with any of your lawful laws, rights, or your social and local institutions, beyond what the causes herein briefly alluded to, may render unavoidable.

"Citizens of South Carolina: The civilized world stands appalled at the course you are pursuing!—appalled at the crime you are committing against your own mother; the best, the most enlightened, and heretofore the most prosperous of nations. You are in a state of active rebellion against the laws of your country. You have lawlessly seized upon the forts, arsenals, and other property belonging to our common country, and within your borders, with this property, you are in arms and waging a ruthless war against your constitutional government, and thus threatening the existence of a government which you are bound, by the terms of the solemn compact, to live under and faithfully support. In doing this, you are not only undermining and preparing the way for totally ignoring your own political



and social existence, but you are threatening the civilized world with the odious sentiment that self-government is impossible with civilized men.

"Fellow-citizens: I implore you to pause and reflect upon the tenor and consequences of your acts. If the awful sacrifices made by the devastation of our property, the shedding of fraternal blood in battle, the mourning and wailing of widows and orphans throughout our land, are insufficient to deter you from further pursuing this unholy war, then ponder, I beseech you, upon the ultimate, but not less certain result, which its further progress must necessarily and naturally entail upon your once happy and prosperous state. Indeed, can you pursue this fratricidal war, and continue to imbrue your hands in the loyal blood of your countrymen, your friends, your kinsmen, for no other object than to unlawfully disrupt the confederacy of a great people, a confederacy established by your own hands, in order to set up, were it possible, an independent government, under which you can never live in peace, prosperity, or quietness?

"Carolinians: We have come among you as loyal men, fully impressed with our constitutional obligations to the citizens of your state; those obligations shall be performed as far as in our power—but be not deceived; the obligation of suppressing armed combinations against the constitutional authorities is paramount to all others. If, in the performance of this duty, other minor but important obligations should be in any way neglected, it must be attributed to the necessities of the case, because rights dependent on the laws of the state must be necessarily subordinate to military exigencies, created by insurrection and rebellion.

"T. W. SHERMAN,

*Brigadier-General commanding.*

"HEADQUARTERS, PORT ROYAL, S. C.,

"November 8th, 1861."

On the 30th of November Adjutant-General Thomas sent out instructions to General Sherman, in Beaufort, S. C., to take possession of all the crops on the island—cotton, corn rice, etc.—on military account, and ship the cotton, and such other crops as were not wanted for the army, to New York, to be sold there for account of the United States; also, to use negro slaves to gather and secure the crops of cotton and corn, and to erect his defences at Port Royal and other places on the islands. General Sherman proceeded to appoint an agent to collect the cotton, employing the blacks for the purpose, and allowing them pay, and the cotton was shipped North on government account.

In most cases the Confederate commanders on the exposed points of the coast received positive instructions to burn

or destroy all property on the approach of the Union troops.

The capture of the forts was soon followed by the occupation of the islands. That of Port Royal, although taken possession of by the Union forces December 6th, was not fully occupied until the 8th, when a reconnoissance in force, consisting of three hundred of the fiftieth Pennsylvania regiment, three hundred of the "Roundheads," and half of Hamilton's battery, all under command of General Stevens, drove the enemy completely from the island. They crossed Port Royal Ferry, and took up a position on the mainland. The Union pickets were immediately extended so as to defend the town of Beaufort and the entire island of Port Royal. Meantime the United States gunboats Flag, Augusta, Pocahontas, and Seneca went from Port Royal to Tybee Island, at the mouth of the Savannah river. The fortifications were found to be deserted, and formal possession was taken of the island. Reconnoissances in other directions demonstrated the Ashepo, the Coosaw, and other rivers to be clear of the enemy. On the capture of the islands the white population retired inland, after destroying much cotton, and did not return in numbers. About 10,000 blacks, being nearly a third of the slaves, came within the Federal lines, and were employed in the culture of the soil and in the requisite labor of the ships and forts. On the retirement of the whites, the blacks committed great depredations upon the property of the neighborhood, but a force was employed to preserve order. Toward the close of the year the enemy proceeded to place obstructions in the Coosaw river and raised batteries at various points, while accumulating a force. It was determined to disperse these assemblages.

Port Royal island, on which Beaufort is situated, is thirteen miles long and seven miles wide, and is formed by the Broad river on its western side, and the Port Royal on its eastern shore. These are connected at the north of the island by the Coosaw river; and the Port Royal itself,

which is really only a strait, loses its name in its upper portion, and is called Brick Yard Creek. Opposite the junction of the Broad and the Coosaw is Boyd's Neck. To the north of Port Royal island is the main land, and about half way between the two points where the Coosaw intersects the Broad and the Port Royal (or Brick Yard Creek) is Port Royal Ferry, distant ten miles across the island from Beaufort.

The enemy intrenched themselves at Port Royal Ferry, and on Tuesday, December 31st, four gunboats—the Seneca, Captain Ammen ; the Ellen, Captain Budd ; the Pembina, Captain Bankhead ; and the Ottawa, Captain Stevens—were ordered to approach Port Royal Ferry, the two former by the way of the Broad river, and the latter by Brick Yard creek. The Seneca was to fire into Boyd's Neck on her way up, and distract attention for a while ; after which, in conjunction with the Ellen, she was to assist in silencing a battery at Seabrook, on the Coosaw, some two or three miles west of Port Royal Ferry. The other two gunboats were to go through the Port Royal river, and cover a landing of Federal troops opposite the mouth of Brick Yard Creek. The senior naval officer was Captain Raymond Rogers. General Stevens's brigade, consisting of the Roundhead regiment, under Colonel Leasure ; the eighth Michigan, Colonel Fenton ; the fiftieth Pennsylvania, Colonel Crist ; and the seventy-ninth New York, Major Morrison commanding, were already at Beaufort, distant ten miles by land from the Ferry ; the forty-seventh New York, Colonel Frazier, and the forty-eighth New York, Colonel Perry, were ordered up from Hilton Head, and the entire force placed under General Stevens's orders.

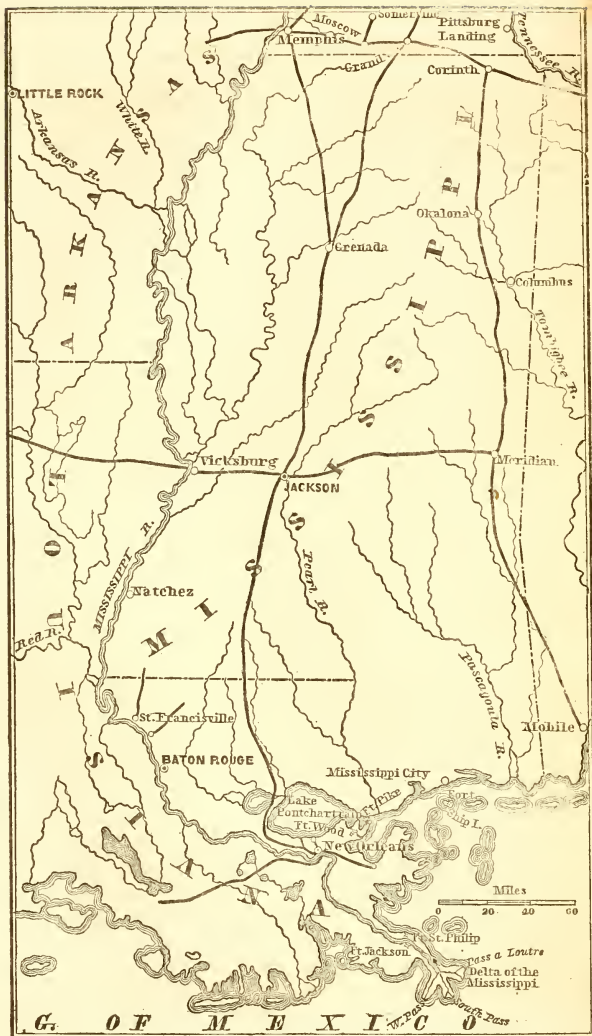
As the troops approached the battery, they encountered a force of about one thousand of the enemy, which opened upon them with some light guns, wounding nine or ten of the eighth Michigan, among them Major Watson. On reaching the fort, however, it was found to be deserted, and was demolished, when the Federal forces withdrew

to their original positions, without any attempt at pursuit by the enemy.

A formidable plan to make the blockade more efficient was put in execution in November. Its purpose was to seal up the channels in the Southern harbors by sinking vessels loaded with stone. The first attempt of this kind was on the North Carolina coast, where the numerous inlets to Pamlico and Albemarle sounds gave great facilities for evading the blockading vessels. A number of small-sized vessels were purchased in Baltimore and sunk in Ocracoke inlet. Two other fleets were then prepared, one for each of the harbors of Savannah and Charleston. The first consisted of twenty-five vessels, and the latter of twenty. They were mostly old whalers, no longer sea-worthy, and of from three hundred to five hundred tons burden. They were bought for about ten dollars per ton, chiefly in the ports of New London and New Bedford. The forty-five ships cost two hundred thousand dollars. They were stripped of copper and other fittings and loaded with picked stones, as deep as possible. The Charleston fleet sailed November 20th with sealed orders, and on the 17th of December the first fleet was sunk across the principal entrance to the harbor. They were placed in three or four rows across the channel in a checkered order. The second fleet was sunk in Maffet's channel, Charleston harbor.

The usual effect of sunken vessels upon the channel of a harbor is to gradually destroy it, by causing an accumulation of the alluvium which the rivers bear down, and of the sands which the tides carry back. This operation was denounced by the English as a crime against humanity at large, by destroying one of the world's harbors. But Mr. Seward replied, that the United States government, upon the return of peace, held itself bound to restore the harbor. The operation does not seem to have been very effective however, since vessels continued to run the blockade in and out of Charleston.

Another expedition had been projected to occupy Ship







Admiral J. F. DUPONT.



COM. FOOTE



COM. GOLDSBOROUGH



COM. PORTER



COM. STRINGHAM.



COM. FARRAGUT.



MAJ. GEN. GRANT.



MAJ. GEN. W. B. FRANKLIN.



MAJ. GEN. SUMNER



MAJ. GEN. FRANZ SIGEL.



GEN. R. ANDERSON.



BRIG. GEN. CORCORAN.





Island, on the coast of Mississippi, shortly after the return of General Butler from Hatteras Inlet in September. The island, which is sixty miles from New Orleans, is about seven miles in length, and one-eighth to three-quarters of a mile wide. It is mostly a bank of clear white sand, without trees or shrubs, but good water can be obtained by sinking a barrel anywhere on its surface. This, with Horn, Petit Bois, and Dauphine islands, forms the southern barrier of Mississippi sound, which, ten to twelve miles wide, extends from Mobile Bay to Lake Borgne, in Louisiana, forming an interior communication between Mobile and New Orleans. On the mainland, opposite Ship Island, are the towns of Biloxi, Mississippi City, and Pascagoula. On the west end of the island are a fort and a lighthouse. The fort was built by the United States in 1859, and was burned by the Confederates in June, 1861. The United States steamer Massachusetts found the island unoccupied at the end of June. On the 8th of July, the same steamer found a considerable force there, which had thrown up intrenchments, and had mounted several guns. An attempt to dislodge them failed, and they retained possession until September 16th, when, apprehending the approach of a large force, they abandoned the island, taking most of their guns. In the mean time they had rebuilt the fort and named it Fort Twiggs. The Massachusetts landed a force September 17th, which continued to hold it. They received reinforcements, and strengthened the place, mounting several Dahlgren nine-inch shell guns and rifled cannon. On the 19th of October, Commodore Hollins, commander of the Confederate steamer Florida, challenged the Massachusetts, and, after a combat of forty-five minutes, drew off in a sinking condition, with four of his crew killed. The Massachusetts was hit by a one-hundred-pound shot, doing much injury to the hull, but she had only one wounded. On the 21st of November, the gunboat New London arrived in the sound, and in the course of a fortnight captured five Confederate vessels.

General Butler was authorized to enlist troops for this expedition in New England, and in doing so he came in collision with the governor of Massachusetts, who objected to the raising of troops independent of his authority in the state, and in relation to the appointment of field officers nominated by General Butler. A sharp controversy sprang up on the subject, and the expedition was long delayed. Finally the first instalment, a part of the Middlesex brigade, consisting of the Massachusetts twenty-sixth and Connecticut ninth, infantry volunteers, with Captain Manning's battery of artillery, volunteers, numbering in all (servants included) one thousand nine hundred and eight, arrived off Fortress Monroe, Virginia, on board the steam transport *Constitution*, on the 26th of November. In compliance with previous orders and commands, General J. W. Phelps\* relieved Colonel Jones, of the Massachusetts twenty-sixth, in command, and they stood out to sea on the afternoon of the 27th.

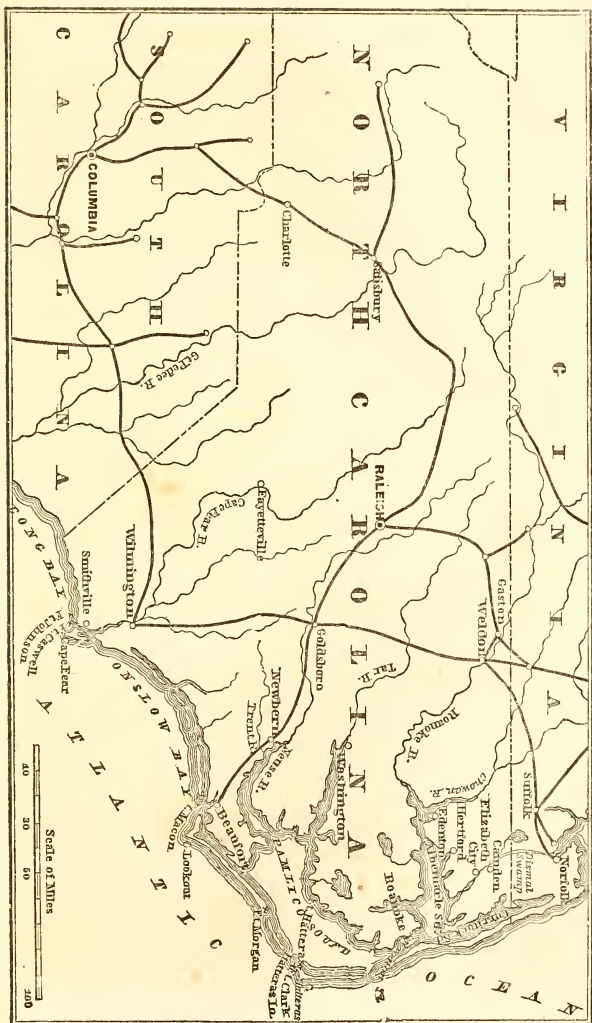
They arrived at Ship Island December 3d. Having completed the landing of his troops, and before his commanding officer, General Butler, arrived, Phelps issued an address to the people of the south-west, containing the following passages :

"We believe that every state that has been admitted as a slave state into the Union since the adoption of the constitution, has been admitted in direct violation of that constitution.

"The church, by being endowed with political power, with its convents, its schools, its immense landed wealth, its associations, secret and open, became the ruling power of the state, and thus occasioned a war of more strife and bloodshed, probably, than any other war which has desolated the earth.

"Slavery is still less susceptible of political character than was the church. It is as fit at this moment for the lumber-room of the past as were, in 1793, the landed wealth, the exclusive privilege, etc., of the Catholic Church in France.

\* John W. Phelps was born in Vermont, graduated at West Point in 1836 as second-lieutenant of artillery, and became first-lieutenant in 1838. He commanded his company in Mexico with distinction at the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, was made captain in 1850, and resigned in 1859. When the war broke out he was made colonel of the Vermont militia, first regiment, and in July brigadier-general.



"It behooves us to consider, as a self-governing people, bred and reared and practised in the habits of self-government, whether we cannot, whether we *ought* not, revolutionize slavery out of existence, without the necessity of a conflict of arms like that of the French revolution."

\* \* \* \* \* "That it (free labor) is the right, the capital, the inheritance, the hope of the poor man everywhere; that it is especially the right of five millions of our fellow-countrymen in the slave states, as well as of the four millions of Africans there, and all our efforts, therefore, however small or great, whether directed against the interference of governments from abroad, or against rebellious combinations at home, shall be for free labor."

This document was not circulated on the mainland to any considerable extent, since it created great dissatisfaction among the officers and men of General Phelps' command, and the author, it was stated, was reprimanded by the government. The Constitution returned to Fortress Monroe for more troops, and arrived back at Ship Island in January, 1862. The plan and objects of the expedition were slowly developed, until after some months they resulted in the capture of New Orleans.

While these expeditions were in progress another was organized with as much secrecy as possible in respect to its destination, under General Burnside.\* The preparations commenced early in September, and about eleven thousand troops concentrated at Annapolis in October, for drill and preparation.

The great difficulties necessarily attendant upon combined expeditions caused such delays that General Burnside was not ready for sea until January 11th, when the third and fourth brigades left Annapolis, and having joined the re-

\* Ambrose E. Burnside was born in Indiana May 23d, 1824; graduated at West Point in 1847; served in the Mexican war with credit, and afterward on the Mexican frontier, where he was quartermaster of the boundary commission. In 1851 he travelled 1,200 miles through the Indian country in seventeen days. He was subsequently stationed at Newport, but resigned to manufacture a breech-loading rifle of his invention. He then entered the service of the Illinois Central railroad as cashier. Governor Sprague, on the outbreak of the war, made him colonel of a Rhode Island regiment. He was acting brigadier at Bull Run. On the 6th of August he was made brigadier and detailed for the expedition.

BURNING SKEET, A S. DREDGE OF THE STEAMER CITY OF NEW YORK.

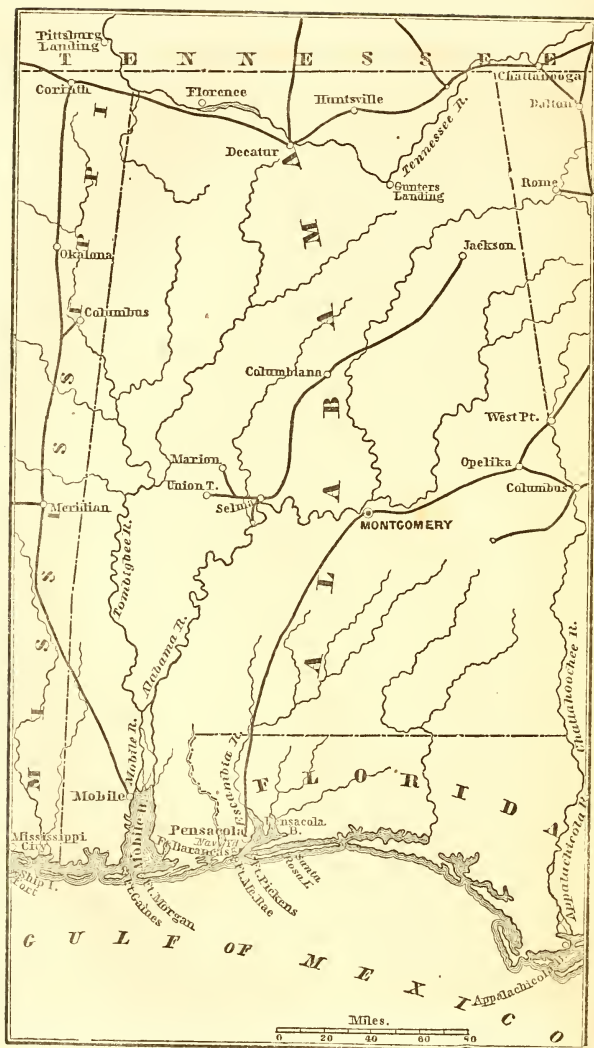






mainder of the forces at Fortress Monroe, the whole sailed January 12th. The destination was kept secret until the expedition appeared off Hatteras on its way to Pamlico sound. The fleet was overtaken by one of those violent storms common to the coast at that season, and suffered much damage. The steamer New York, with a quantity of arms and stores, was lost. The Pocahontas went ashore and was lost, with seventy-five horses; and several other vessels were wrecked, with more or less loss in stores and munitions. Much difficulty was encountered in passing over the bar into the sound, in consequence of miscalculations in regard to draft of water, and it was not until February that this was effected. The enemy held Roanoke Island, at the mouth of Albemarle sound, with a force of 2,500 men. The place was strongly intrenched, and was supposed capable of resisting any force that might be sent into the sound. On the 7th of February, the day after the surrender of Fort Henry to the gunboats of Commodore Foote, an attack was commenced. The gunboats opened fire upon the forts, while the troops, under Generals Foster, Reno, and Parks, having effected a landing over night, beyond the reach of the guns, advanced at daybreak on the 8th of February, through a dense swamp, upon the intrenchments, suffering much loss as they proceeded. They however formed on the solid ground, and, with a determined rush, carried the works by storm. The enemy responded, abandoned the place, and fled toward the upper end of the island, closely pursued. There were, however, no means of escape, and the Union troops, as they approached the enemy, were met by a flag of truce, and the whole force of 2,500 men surrendered at discretion. Among the killed on the side of the Confederates was Captain O. J. Wise, a son of ex-Governor Henry A. Wise, who was shot while attempting to escape in a boat. H. A. Wise had been in command of the island, but had left it a few days before on account of illness. With this island fell the defences of the ene-





my in that section. On the 9th a portion of the fleet passed into the sound and attacked the Confederate flotilla near Elizabeth City, capturing one and destroying four vessels. The troops gradually, without further resistance, occupied the cities adjacent to the sound, Elizabeth, Edenton, and others, and the Union occupation of this section became well established. Thus almost simultaneously with the penetration of Kentucky and Tennessee, in the north-western part of the proposed Confederacy, by the gunboats, the defences of North Carolina fell by the same means. The interior of that state and the rear of Norfolk were thus open to the Union force.

The situation of the troops in Pensacola bay had been one of great anxiety during the summer. It should have been mentioned in recording the events which preceded the commencement of the war, that the navy-yard on Pensacola Bay, with the forts adjacent, were under the control of Commander Armstrong. Pensacola Bay is semi-circular in shape, and Santa Rosa island, a sandy island about fifty miles in length, and from a quarter of a mile to a mile and a half in width, lies with its wider end far up the bay and within about a mile of the main land. The navy-yard is situated nearly opposite the head of the island adjoining the village of Warrington. The defences of the port are Fort McRea, on the mainland toward the seaward side; Fort Barrancas, on the opposite or landward side; and Fort Pickens, on the head of Santa Rosa island. There were also some small water batteries. On the secession of Florida and Alabama, Commander Armstrong abandoned Fort Barrancas, spiked its guns, and removed the munitions of war. On the 12th of January, 1861, the Florida and Alabama troops took possession of the navy-yard and Forts Barrancas and McRea. Lieutenant (afterward Major) A. J. Slemmer, who was in command of the little Federal force of eighty-two men, took possession of Fort Pickens, by far the strongest of the forts in the harbor, on the first indications of an in-

tention to seize it, and held it until it was reinforced and he was relieved from his command by an officer of higher rank. On the night of the 12th of April, 86 artillerymen and 115 marines were thrown into the fort; and between the 16th and 23d of the same month a further reinforcement brought by the Atlantic and Illinois, and supplies of stores, horses, munitions of war, &c., under the command of Colonel (now General) Harvey Brown, were landed, which brought up the number of the garrison to 880 men. Subsequently other reinforcements of volunteers and supplies were sent, and a fleet of vessels stationed outside in the gulf. Among the volunteers sent was a regiment of Zouaves enlisted in New York by Colonel William Wilson. These were encamped on Santa Rosa island, a little distance from the fort. Little of interest occurred until September 13th, when Lieutenant Russell, with five launches containing each thirty men, pulled across from Santa Rosa to the navy-yard, two miles, and, with singular audacity and address, burned a schooner under the guns of the yard. On the 8th of October, about 1,200 of the enemy, under command of General Anderson, landed on Santa Rosa island and attacked the Zouave camp. They encountered Major Vogdes, of the second artillery, with eighty-five men, and made him prisoner. The Zouaves, though taken by surprise, fought well; they lost fourteen killed and thirty-six wounded, and their camp was entirely destroyed.

In November, the force on the island was 1,300 men, under Colonel Brown. The enemy's force was rated at 8,000 men, occupying the navy-yard, with four long Dahlgren thirty-twos; Fort McRea with four columbiads and a number of heavy guns; and Fort Barrancas, with twenty-five Dahlgren thirty-twos. There were also fourteen batteries between these points, with one to four columbiads each. Colonel Brown determined to open upon them, and he invited flag-officer McKean to co-operate. On the morning of November 22d, Colonel Brown began his fire.

The enemy's batteries formed a segment of a circle, all nearly equidistant from Pickens. The Niagara and the Richmond drew in as near to Fort McRea as soundings would permit. The fire of Pickens was incessant until dark. By noon the guns of McRea were silenced, and several other batteries ceased firing before sundown. The next morning Fort Pickens opened again, but many of the enemy's guns were silent, and at noon the village of Warrington and the navy yard took fire, when the cannonade was brought to an end. Fort Pickens lost one gun, and six men wounded. The report of Colonel Brown upon the efficiency of rifled and other guns as against forts and ships was very valuable. He showed the value of Parrott guns, and advised that all forts should be supplied with them; a judgment which subsequent events have fully sustained.

The defences of the city of Galveston (Texas) were abandoned in the month of November, as not being available against the long range and heavy calibre of the blockading force. Galveston has been the most populous and commercial city of Texas. Its population in 1860 was 8,177. It is situated on an island at the mouth of a bay of its own name, about 450 miles west by south of New Orleans, and 230 miles south-east of Austin City. The island, which separates the bay from the Gulf of Mexico, is about thirty miles long from east to west, and about a mile and a half wide. The distance from the island across the bay by the railroad bridge to the mainland is about two miles. For the defence of the city guns were placed during the year at the east end of the island, at Bolivar Point, and at Pelican Spit Island, commanding the bay. The city is situated on the bay, and is a mile to a mile and a half from the Gulf. Its commerce under the blockade ceased entirely. The cause of the South was ardently espoused by the inhabitants, and numbers entered the army. No important occurrence of a hostile nature, however, took place here until August 3d, when a few shots were fired from the block-

ading schooner Dart at the batteries on Galveston Island. This was intended as a sort of reconnoissance. Again, on the 5th, the steamer North Carolina opened her fire upon the batteries, and threw some shells into the city. A large number of persons having collected on the sand-hills, a little eastward of the batteries, a shell fell among them, killing one man and wounding three others. This led to a protest by the foreign consuls resident in the city, addressed to Captain Alden, against bombarding without notice given. He, in reply, disclaimed the intention, but stated that he had been fired upon by the batteries first. Nothing further of importance took place until November 20th, when, after consultation of the citizens, it was thought impossible to defend the town, all public and private property of a movable kind was sent to Houston, and a line of signals established which should cause the concentration of troops on the first approach of an enemy; no further events however occurred.

At New Orleans, under the command of Captain G. N. Hollins of the Confederate navy, formerly of the United States navy, and who commanded the bombardment of Greytown, Nicaragua, under the administration of Mr. Pierce, preparations had been made for defence, and there was constructed a steam-ram, called Manassas, which was the hull of a steamboat, plated with railroad iron, and having a projection from her bow beneath the water-line, sufficient to punch a hole in the hull of a wooden vessel if struck with force. The Federal blockading force in October consisted of the steamship Richmond, Captain John Pope, the sloops of war Preble and Vincennes, and the small steamer Water Witch. The Richmond, October 12th, was lying at the South-west Pass taking in coal from a schooner, when, at four o'clock A. M., the ram was discovered close to the ship. It struck her abreast of the fore channels, making a breach in her side and tearing loose the schooner. Five planks were stove in the ship's side, two feet below the water-line. Passing aft, the ram made an

attempt to breach the stern of the ship. As she passed, the Richmond delivered her fire with all her port guns, but with what effect is not known. The sloop of war were at anchor a short distance below, and were signalled to get under way. When the ram struck she sent up a rocket, and soon three large fire-rafts, stretching across the river, were seen rapidly approaching, impelled by a propeller and some steamers. The squadron immediately got under way and drifted down the river. The Richmond, Preble, and Vincennes got ashore on the bar, and while there were attacked by the rebels, but without doing any damage to the vessels, or to life. But one shot took effect, and that struck the Richmond on the quarter. They were beaten off by the Vincennes with two guns, she having thrown overboard the rest of her armament, with her chains, anchors, &c., to lighten her, as she was very much exposed to the fire of the enemy. The fire-rafts soon grounded and burnt up. The Union vessels escaped with no damage except to the Richmond, and no one was killed or wounded on the Federal fleet.

The operations of the navy in blockading and in aid of the expedition were now very effective, and the complaints that had, at the commencement of the war, been more or less just, in relation to the effectiveness of the blockade, now subsided, and it came to be admitted that the blockade was as effective as any had ever been, while successive occupation of important points on the coast encouraged the hope that the South, being entirely cut off from intercourse with the outer world, would soon be reduced to submit.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Army of the Potomac.—Volunteers.—Militia Law.—Three Months Men.—The Enemy's Outposts.—Union Advance.—Lewinsville.—Skirmish.—General Order No. 19.—Bolivar Heights.—Ball's Bluff.—Death of Baker.—Retreat.—*Habeas Corpus* in the District.—General Scott retires.—McClellan in Command.—His Speech.—Reorganization of the Confederate Army.—Dranesville.—Battles in Virginia in 1861.—Programme of Movement.—President's Proclamation.—General Operations of the War.

IN Chapter XI we left the army of the Potomac gradually acquiring discipline and consolidation under the command of General McClellan. A long period of repose succeeded in that region until broken by the disaster at Leesburg. The *matériel* and discipline of the army meantime improved and became more permanently effective. The three months men had all retired, and the new troops were learning those duties and becoming inured to those hardships that they had voluntarily undertaken for the war. The difference between three months men, or the militia, and volunteers for the war was a distinction that had grown out of our long peace. Soon after the formation of the government, when the hardships of war were yet fresh in the minds of the people, Congress had enacted, in 1795, in consequence of the whiskey rebellion, that the President was authorized to call forth the militia to suppress insurrections, and that the use of such militia might be continued until thirty days after the then next meeting of Congress, no man to be compelled to serve longer than three months after his arrival at the place of rendezvous in any one year. In 1812-15 the law was amended so as to require the men to serve six months, but the amendment applied only to that war. Under the law as it stood, therefore, the troops called out by Mr. Lincoln could



only serve three months. The volunteers who so eagerly filled up the ranks for three years or the war could now devote the necessary time to acquiring the trade of war; and this they were doing under the continued supervision of General McClellan. While being constantly exercised in the drill and in the use of arms, the troops were employed in strengthening and increasing the numerous works around the city. The enemy meantime made no active demonstration. He pushed his outposts slowly toward the Potomac, and in the middle of September occupied Munson's Hill, in sight of the capitol. Skirmishes continued along the line, of more or less importance. Toward the close of September the enemy fell back along his whole line toward Fairfax Court House, his main body occupying nearly the same position as at Bull Run. On September 28th the Union troops pushed forward and occupied Munson's and Upton's Hills, and Fall's Church village. Two advance bodies of the Union troops came into collision by mistaking each other for the enemy, near Falls Church. An attack was made and answered, and before the error was discovered ten were killed and about twenty wounded. On the 9th of October, General Smith's division of the Union troops, from the chain bridge, occupied Lewinsville. On the advance arriving at Langley's, the previous outpost of the army, the force was divided, a portion continuing up Little Rock Run turnpike, and occupying Prospect Hill, while the other part of the division took the new artillery road, and occupied Smoots' and Maxwell's Hills, a mile and a half east of Lewinsville. After three hours waiting in vain for the rebels to attack, the skirmishers advanced and occupied Lewinsville, the rebels retreating. A portion of the troops under Brigadier-General Porter also advanced and occupied Miner's Hill, to the right of Fall's Church, and commanding that village and Barrel's Hill, which latter was in possession of rebel pickets. At the same time, Captain Barney, of the New York twenty-fourth regiment, advanced three

miles beyond Fall's Church, on the Leesburg turnpike, with ten men, where he surprised a picket guard of Stewart's rebel cavalry, killing three and taking one prisoner. General McClellan and staff, accompanied by Captain Barker's McClellan dragoons, crossed the chain bridge and made a prolonged reconnoissance from the new positions taken by the Federal troops.

On the 30th of September, General McClellan had issued an order of the day, containing regulations for the troops and affixing names to the thirty-two fortifications that had been erected around Washington. This was followed by the following very important regulation, which carries on its face the necessity for its issue :

"GENERAL ORDER NO. 19.

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

"*Washington, October 1st, 1861.*

"The attention of the general commanding has recently been directed to depredations of an atrocious character that have been committed upon the persons and property of citizens in Virginia, by the troops under his command. The property of inoffensive people has been lawlessly and violently taken from them, their houses broken open, and in some instances burned to the ground. The general is perfectly aware of the fact that these outrages are perpetrated by a few bad men, and do not receive the sanction of the mass of the army. He feels confident, therefore, that all officers and soldiers who have the interest of the service at heart will cordially unite their efforts with his in endeavoring to suppress practices which disgrace the name of a soldier.

"The general commanding directs that in future all persons connected with this army who are detected in depredating upon the property of citizens shall be arrested and brought to trial; and he assures all concerned, that crimes of such enormity will admit of no remission of the death penalty which the military law attaches to offences of this nature. When depredations are committed on property in charge of a guard, the commander, as well as the other members of the guard, will be held responsible for the same as principals, and punished accordingly.

"By command of Major-General McCLELLAN-

"S. WILLIAMS, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

"RICHARD B. IRWIN, *Aide-de-Camp.*"

Colonel John W. Geary, of the Pennsylvania twenty-eighth regiment, with detachments from his own, the thirteenth Massachusetts, and third Wisconsin regiments,

in all four hundred men, crossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, October 8th, and captured twenty-one thousand bushels of wheat. While upon his return and on the Charleston road, near Bolivar Heights, midway between the Potomac and the Shenandoah rivers, he was attacked, October 13th, by a large Confederate force with infantry artillery, and cavalry. Rebel batteries upon Loudon and Bolivar Heights participated in the action, as did also a national battery upon the Maryland side. After several hours of intermittent fighting, the rebels were driven off, with considerable loss. The national loss was four killed and seven wounded, and two prisoners. Colonel Geary took from the rebels one thirty-two pounder. The Union troops subsequently fell back from the Virginia side of the Potomac.

An event now took place which cast profound gloom over the country, not only because of the defeat of the forces and the death of a gallant officer, but because of the disappointment which it caused to the hopes that had been excited through the growth and improvement of the army. Ball's Bluff is the name of a part of the bank of the Potomac on the Virginia side, and east of Leesburg. Opposite the Bluff and about one hundred yards distant is Harrison's Island, a long tract containing about four hundred acres, and about one hundred and fifty yards broad. Between this and the Virginia shore the river runs with a rapid current. On the other side the river is about two hundred yards broad, and not so rapid. There are two ferries, one of which at the head of the island is known as Conrad's Ferry, and the other below as Edwards' Ferry. The two hostile armies had for many months held the opposite banks of the river at this point. It was here that the Confederates had contemplated an irruption into Maryland to attack Washington. A strong Federal force had been placed here in anticipation of such an attempt. General Banks held the Maryland side of the river, from Great Falls to Edwards' Ferry; from that point to Conrad's

Ferry was the division of General Stone; next was the force of Colonel Lander, and then that of Colonel Geary. On the Virginia side the principal Confederate posts were Dranesville, Leesburg, and Charlestown. It was important to ascertain the strength of the enemy at Dranesville, and General McClellan ordered General McCall to make reconnoissance in that direction. This was executed October 19th, and he returned to his former position on the 20th, according to previous orders. At the same time General Stone received the following notice:

"TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL STONE, Poolesville:

"General McClellan desires me to inform you that General McCall occupied Dranesville yesterday and is still there. Will send out reconnoissances to-day in all directions from that point. The general desires that you keep a good lookout from Leesburg, to see if the movement has the effect to drive them away. Perhaps a slight demonstration on your part would have the effect to move them.

"A. V. COLBURN,

"*Assistant Adjutant-General.*"

Later in the day General Stone replied:

"October 20th, 1861.

"Made a feint of crossing at this place this afternoon, and at the same time started a reconnoitring party toward Leesburg from Harrison's Island. The enemy's pickets retired to intrenchments. Report of reconnoitring party not yet received. I had means of crossing one hundred and twenty-five men once in ten minutes at each of two points. River falling slowly.

"O. P. STONE, *Brigadier-General.*"

On the receipt of these instructions, General Stone sent at one P. M. Gorman's brigade, consisting of the seventh Michigan, two troops of Van Alen's cavalry, and the Putnam rangers, to Edwards' Ferry; four companies of the fifteenth Massachusetts to Harrison's Island; and Colonel Lee with the Massachusetts twentieth, a section of the Rhode Island battery, and the Tammany regiment, to Conrad's Ferry. General Stone says that at the time of these three movements a regiment of the enemy came from the direction of Leesburg, and took shelter in the wood, one and a half miles from Edwards' Ferry, and Van Alen's battery, two twelve-pound Parrott guns, opened

upon him without drawing any response. A feint to cross the river was then made by Gorman's corps in view of the enemy, and this fulfilled the order given by General McClellan.

Previous to one p. m., Colonel Devens, with four Massachusetts companies, crossed to the Virginia side, and discovered what appeared to be a small force of the enemy. Having returned and reported, he was ordered to recross, attack and destroy the party, make as close observation of the enemy as possible, and, in the event of there being no enemy, to hold on until he could be strengthened sufficiently to make a reliable reconnoissance. At the same time Colonel Baker was ordered to have the first California regiment at Conrad's Ferry at sunrise, and the remainder of his brigade in readiness to move early. Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, with a battalion of the fifteenth Massachusetts, was directed to be at the river bank opposite Harrison's Island at day-break; and Lieutenant French, with two mounted howitzers of Ricketts' battery, was ordered to the tow-path, opposite Harrison's Island. Colonel Devens proceeded as ordered, but finding no enemy, placed his men in a wood. At the same time, in order to attract attention from Devens, General Stone had directed Gorman to send two companies of the first Minnesota across the river, and throw out a party of horse on the Leesburg road. This party encountered a Mississippi regiment, and made a prisoner. Meantime, General Stone having received the report of Colonel Devens that no enemy was to be seen, sent him a squad of horse to scour the vicinity, and ordered Colonel Wood with a battalion of the Massachusetts fifteenth to cross, and protect the flank of Colonel Devens. Neither of these orders was fully carried out. Colonel Baker was now ready with his brigade, and, after explanations from General Stone, left with full authority to manage the crossing. In the morning the enemy appeared in force in front of Devens, who, finding that he should be outflanked, retired on the battalion

of the Massachusetts twentieth. Some portions of the first California, the Massachusetts twentieth, with some companies of the Tammany regiment, and four guns, had now crossed the river, and troops continued to cross until half-past two p. m., when the firing in front became very risk, and Colonel Baker crossed, leaving orders for the artillery to hasten over. The difficulty was very great, because the bank on the Virginia side was high and steep, and guns required to be dismounted and hauled up by the prolonge. The enemy's fire increased in vigor, and great numbers of wounded were being borne to the boats. The force at the landing occupied a field seventy-five yards in breadth and 200 in length, and were disposed in a semicircle, each end resting on a wood, with skirmishers thrown out on each flank. In their rear the bluff was very steep to the river. At four o'clock, Colonel Baker formed his line for action—the fifteenth and twentieth Massachusetts on the right, the California on the left, and the Tammany regiment and the artillery in the centre. Signs of a large force of the enemy now became apparent, although none were visible. The force of the enemy consisted of the eighth Virginia, and the seventeenth and eighteenth Mississippi. The first Mississippi was held in reserve. These were reported by the Confederate General Evans at 2,500 men, without artillery. This force pressing upon the 1,700 men under Colonel Baker with increasing vigor and more effective fire, induced a consultation, which resulted in the determination to stand. A retrograde movement would bring the force to the steep brink of the river, where the rapid descent only led to a small boat and a scow as the means of transport over a swift channel. The only hope was to maintain the ground until troops could cross at Edwards' Ferry and force a way to their aid. Two companies were now pushed forward to feel the enemy in the woods on the left, and were met by a murderous fire, which was followed along the whole line of the enemy, who, feeling their strength, closed in on both sides

of the field with overwhelming force, throwing in a scathing fire, which swept our ranks with fatal effect. The gallant Baker, in the act of cheering his men, fell dead. The command then devolved on Colonel Cogswell, of the Tammany regiment. He had now no recourse but to attempt to regain the Maryland shore. The men retired in an orderly manner, closely pressed by the enemy. The small boat had disappeared, however, and the larger one was swamped at the second time crossing. There was then no alternative but to swim or surrender. They chose the former, and, throwing their arms into the river, dispersed, some up and down the bank, and others on logs, and sought to cross by swimming. The pieces of artillery were tumbled down the bank, but were taken by the enemy, with some cases of shot. In this affair, the Massachusetts fifteenth lost in killed, wounded, and missing, 322, including the lieutenant-colonel and half the line officers; the twentieth, out of 318 engaged, lost 159; the Tammany, 163; the first California, 300; together, 944 out of 1,700 engaged. The Confederates reported their loss at 300. While these events were transpiring, General Stone was preparing to cross at Edwards' ferry, but desisted on news arriving of the death of Colonel Baker, and the retreat of his troops. Orders were then received from General McClellan to hold the island and Virginia shore at Edwards' Ferry at all hazards. General Gorman proceeded to strengthen his position, and reinforcements came forward until there were 4,000 infantry, with Ricketts' battery, and a detachment of Van Alen's horse, in position on the Virginia shore, behind 500 feet of intrenchments. Further information caused a change of purpose, and the whole returned to the Maryland shore. The main causes of this disaster were a badly chosen spot to cross, insufficient means of transportation, and want of a definite object in venturing into a position where retreat was nearly impossible, without positive knowledge of the enemy to be contended with.



The Confederate batteries were now being constantly extended down the Potomac, and their partial success at Ball's Bluff caused a great increase of activity among them, as well as among their sympathizers in and about Washington; and on the 23d of October, the President suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* in the District of Columbia.

The greatly advanced age and increasing infirmities of General Scott, and the growing complications of the war, led to his retirement on the first of November, when he was placed upon the retired list, without reduction of pay and emoluments. Major-General George B. McClellan assumed command of the armies of the United States in place of Lieutenant-General Scott by direction of the President. On the 2d of November General McClellan was presented with a sword by the city council of Philadelphia, and in the course of his reply remarked :

"It is for the future to determine whether I shall realize the expectations and hopes that have been centred in me. I trust and feel that the day is not far distant when I shall return to the place dearest of all others to me, there to spend the balance of my life among the people from whom I have received this beautiful gift. *The war cannot last long. It may be desperate.* I ask in the future, forbearance, patience, and confidence. With these we can accomplish all."

At the same time the Confederate army in Virginia was reorganized. The state was constituted a department, comprising the three armies of the Potomac, the Valley, and Aquia, under the chief command of General Johnston. General Beauregard commanded the army of the Potomac, General Thomas J. Jackson that of the Valley, and General Holmes that of Aquia. The army of the Potomac comprised four divisions: the first, including the Valley, under General Doren; second, General G. W. Smith; third, General Longstreet; fourth, General Kirby Smith.

With these new dispositions, the Union army being under the command of General McClellan, and the Confederate army more efficiently organized, the two great

armies continued to face each other, each strengthening its position, for many months of inaction. Some skirmishes, of which the most important was at Dranesville, took place. On the 20th of December, General McCall ordered General Ord to proceed on the Leesburg pike, in the direction of Dranesville, to drive in the pickets of the enemy, and procure forage. General Ord accordingly proceeded with the first Pennsylvania rifles, the tenth, sixth, and twelfth Pennsylvania. While advancing this force was assailed by the Confederate force, composed of the eleventh Virginia, fifth and tenth Alabama, and first Kentucky, under command of Colonel John H. Forney. A sharp engagement took place, when the enemy retreated in the direction of Fairfax Court House, having lost 90 dead, 10 wounded, and 8 prisoners. The Union loss was 7 killed and 63 wounded. The winter passed away without the occurrence of any thing else of importance, in a military point of view, in that department. The following table gives the dates of the leading battles fought in Virginia, during the year 1861, with casualties on each side; the Union returns being mostly official :

## LEADING BATTLES IN VIRGINIA FOR 1861.

		FEDERAL.			CONFEDERATE.		
		Killed.	Wounded.	Pris.	Killed.	W'ded.	Pris.
Fairfax C. H.....	June 1	1	4	—	4	—	5
Phillippi.....	" 3	2	2	—	16	—	10
Great Bethel.....	" 10	14	45	—	17	—	—
Romney.....	" 11	—	1	—	2	1	—
Vienna.....	" 17	8	7	—	6	—	—
Edwards' Ferry.....	" 18	1	—	—	40	—	—
Rappahannock.....	" 24	2	6	—	—	—	—
Pattern Creek.....	" 26	1	—	—	17	—	—
Falls Church.....	" 23	1	—	—	2	—	—
Buckhannon.....	July 1	—	—	—	23	200	—
Falling Waters.....	" 2	3	11	—	31	50	10
Middlefork Bridge...	" 6	1	13	7	—	—	—
Laurel Hill.....	" 10	1	3	—	—	—	—
Rich Mountain.....	" 11	11	35	—	160	—	100
Beverly.....	" 12	13	40	—	150	—	600
Blackburn's Ford....	" 18	19	38	26	15	53	—
Bull Run.....	" 21	479	1090	1400	269	1300	—
Shorter's Hill.....	" 28	1	1	—	2	1	—

		FEDERAL.			CONFEDERATE.		
		Killed.	Wo'ded.	Pris.	Killed.	Wo'ded.	Pris.
Carnifex Ferry.....	Sept. 10	15	80	—	—	—	—
Cheat Mountain.....	" 12	9	121	60	100	--	12
Romney.....	" 24	3	10	—	35	—	—
Chapmansville.....	" 25	4	9	—	30	50	47
Falls Church.....	" 29	10	20	—	—	—	—
Greenbrier.....	Oct. 3	8	32	—	100	75	13
Bolivar.....	" 16	4	7	2	150	—	4
Ball's Bluff.....	" 21	223	226	455	36	264	2
Gauley's Bridge.....	Nov. 10	8	11	—	—	—	—
Guyandotte.....	" 10	7	20	45	7	15	12
Vienna.....	Dec. 3	—	4	3	3	—	—
Camp Alleghany.....	" 13	20	107	—	25	97	30
Dranesville.....	" 20	7	63	—	90	10	8

It had been the intention when all the armies and expeditions were organized, and at their respective positions, that the whole should make a simultaneous movement upon the enemy. The President, with this view, issued the following proclamation :

#### THE PRESIDENT'S GENERAL WAR ORDER, NO. I.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,

"WASHINGTON, *January 27th*, 1862.

"*Ordered*, That the 22d day of February, 1862, be the day for a general movement of the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces.

"That especially,

"The army at and about Fortress Monroe,

"The army of the Potomac,

"The army of Western Virginia,

"The army near Munfordsville, Ky.,

"The army and flotilla at Cairo,

"And a naval force in the Gulf of Mexico, be ready for a movement on that day.

"That all other forces, both land and naval, with their respective commanders, obey existing orders for the time, and be ready to obey additional orders when duly given.

"That the heads of departments, and especially the secretaries of war and of the navy, with all their subordinates, and the general-in-chief, with all other commanders and subordinates of the land and naval forces, will severally be held to their strict and full responsibilities for the prompt execution of this order.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

The effects of these orders in Tennessee and Kentucky, as well as in Missouri, were apparent in the successes which, during the latter part of February, virtually restored those

states to the Union. The army of the Potomac was not however, in a condition to move, not so much by reason of its own want of efficiency, as in consequence of the state of the roads in Virginia. The mud was generally so deep on these that it was impossible to pass a large army in face of an active and strongly intrenched enemy. There were days indeed in which the frosts hardened the ground, and made it passable for artillery, but the continuance of this frost could not be depended upon. A sudden thaw might leave the army in an exposed condition, and the winter wore away without any important plan being perfected. The success at the West, by which the right wing of the forces advanced on its prescribed route, while the strength of the enemy was by the presence of the army of the Potomac held before Richmond, promised well. If, while the shattered Confederate armies west and on the coast were flying before the victorious columns of the Union, the final advance of the grand army upon Richmond should be successful, giving the hand to Burnside on the coast of North Carolina, and to Buell in Tennessee, the strength of the Confederacy would be effectually crushed. Circumstances, however, prevented the movement of the Potomac army until a later period.

#### NOTES BY THE PUBLISHER.

ALL of the maps in this volume will be duplicated in Vol. II., with the addition of the names of such places as have acquired or may acquire military importance subsequent to March, 1862. The map of Georgia does not appear in Vol. I., not being needed for reference, but will appear in Vol. II.

It was also expected that the chapter on Modern Military Science, including improvements in gunboats, cannons, rifles, pistols, &c., with the illustrations, would appear in Vol. I., but for want of space it is carried over to Vol. II.

Any Subscriber failing to receive Vol. II. of the agents, in consequence of moving, or from any other cause, will have it forwarded to him by mail, postage paid, on receipt of the price by the publisher. Subscribers should be particular, in giving their address, to give the name of the state, county, and town or post-office.

